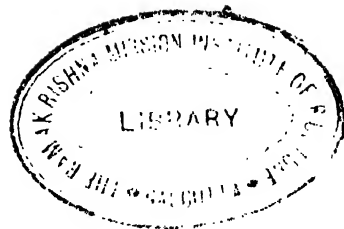


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BARHUT INSCRIPTIONS



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EDITED AND TRANSLATED WITH CRITICAL NOTES

BY

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**To
Sacred Memory
of
SIR ASUTOSH MOOKERJEE**

PREFACE.

The present edition is the outcome of a close study of the inscriptions on the Inner Railing and Gateways of the Buddhist Stūpa at Barhut in Central India according to a new plan. Instead of setting these inscriptions as they are found incised in order on the existing E. Gateway, component parts of the Quadrants of the Inner Railing, and several fragments, we have rearranged them in such a manner that we can unveil the system that underlies them and thereby make them truly significant. We have broadly distinguished them as Votive Labels and Jātaka Labels, grouping the former as they occur on the Gateway-pillars, the Rail-pillars, the Rail-bars, the Coping-stones, and the isolated Fragments, and grouping the latter as they are attached to different scenes in accordance with the accepted Jātaka-outlines of the Buddha's life. We have followed special numbering for each group, and also a general continuous numbering to facilitate reference. In interpreting the inscriptions we have not spared pains to collect as many parallels from literature as possible and proper. In spite of all the trouble taken and the care bestowed, we wish we could believe that we were any more than beginners. We feel grieved that Sir Asutosh Mookerjee is no more to receive a copy of this work as a gift and bless us with an open heart, which itself was far more than an earthly reward. We humbly dedicate the work itself to his sacred memory as he was the real inspirer of it and arranged for its publication just a month before he passed away at Patna. We are indebted to our friend Mr. Manindra Lal Sen, M.A., for assisting us in collecting some of the useful references, to Professor D. R. Bhandarkar, Dr S. K. Chatterjee, Dr. G. N. Banerjee and Dr. Stella Kramrisch for occasional suggestions, and no less to Mr. J. C. Chakravorti, M.A., Assistant Registrar, Mr. A. C. Ghatak, M.A., Superintendent, Calcutta University Press, and his staff for their readiness to oblige. One of us must thankfully acknowledge that it is Mr. R. D. Banerjee who initiated him into the study of the Barhut exhibits and inscriptions in the Indian Museum, Calcutta.

CALCUTTA,
Jan. 14, 1926.

B. M. BARUA.
'GANGANANDA SINHA.

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BIBLIOGRAPHY AND ABBREVIATIONS

C=Cunningham's Stûpa of Bharhut, 1879.

Ho=Höernle's Readings from the Bharhut Stûpa, *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. X.

[Dr. J. Anderson's reading and interpretation of the Barhut Inscriptions in his Catalogue and Handbook of the Archæological Collection in the Indian Museum, 1883, are mere reproductions from Cunningham's Monograph and Höernle's Readings.]

H=Hultzsch's Bharhut Inscriptions, *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XXI; ZDMG, Vol. XL; also article on the "Sunga Inscription of the Bharhut Stûpa" in *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XIV.

L=Lüder's List of Brâhmi Inscriptions from The Earliest Times, *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. X.

F=Jâtaka-Commentary, edited by Fausböll.

Bühler's Indian Paleographic Tables.

R. P. Chanda—Dates of the Votive Stûpa Inscriptions at Sanchi in *Memoirs of the Archæological Survey of India*, No. 1.

BT=Barhut Text as can actually be read in stone or in C's eye-copy.

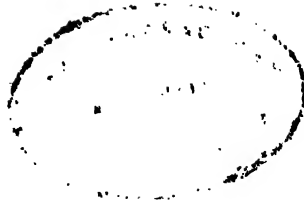
CT=Corrected Text in the authors' opinion.

FT=Full Text as made out by the authors.

Tr=Translation.

E=Explanatory.

N=Notes.



BARHUT INSCRIPTIONS

SECTION I

VOTIVE LABELS

1. Suganaṃ raje raño Gāgīputasa
Visadevasa pautena Gotiputasa
Āgarajusa putena Vāchiputena
Dhanabhūtina kāritaṃ toraṇāṃ
silākamaṃto ca upamaṇa.

1. Votive
Labels on
Gateways
(Toranas)
(a) [Pillar of]
E. Gateway

BT

Suganaṃ raje raño Gāgīputasa
Visadevasa pautena Gotiputasa
Āgarajusa putena Vāchiputena
Dhanabhūtina kāritaṃ toraṇāṃ
silākamaṃto ca upamaṇo.

CT (1)

“Within the dominion of the Śuṅgas the gateway has been caused to be made and the workmanship in stone produced by Vātsīputra Dhanabhūti, son of ‘Gotiputa Āgaraju’ (and) grandson of King Gārgīputra Viśvadeva.” Tr

[C. p. 128, G.P.I. 1 (Pls. XII, LIII)—reads *rājāno*, *Agarajasa*, *toranam*, *silakammatu*. II. No. 1, cf. I. A., XIV, p. 138. I. No. 687. *Suganaṃ raje*=in the kingdom of *Sugana* (*Śrughna*) (R. L. Mitra & Cunningham); during the reign of the Śuṅgas. (Bühler, Hultzsch, Lüders). *Gotiputa*=*Kautsiputra* (C); *Gautiputra* (HI). *Āgaraju*=*Agarāja* or *Agrarāja* (Mitra & Cunningham); *Aṅgāradyut* (Bühler,

Hultzsch, Lüders); *Silā-kammanṭo* = ornamented stone work (Mitra); stone-work (H L); masonry (H); works of piety, spiritual merit (C). *Upaṇṇa* = Upāṇa, plinth (Mitra); *Utpaṇṇa* or *Uppaṇṇa*, gained, produced (C); arose (H). *Gāgīputa* = *Gārgēyīputtra* (Mitra), born of the Queen of the *Gārgēya* family (C). "The usage of calling sons after their mothers was caused, not by polyandria, as some Sanskritists have suggested, but by the prevalence of polygamy, and it survives among the Rajputs to the present day. In private conversation I have often heard a *Kuwar* called the 'son of the *Solankani*,' or of the *Gohilani*, &c. Here you will observe the Rani is called according to her family name, not according to her proper name; and you will know, from intercourse with the Rajputs, that the Ranis are always mentioned in that manner. Now all the metronymica of the ancient kings and teachers, both Buddhistic and Brahmanical, are formed by a female family name with the word *putra*. Thus we have *Vasisthiputra*, or *Vasisthiputra*, *Sātakarni*, &c., and these names ought to be translated, 'son of the (wife) of the Vasistha family,' &c. The name was just intended to distinguish the king or teacher from the other sons of his father by naming his mother according to her family name. There is another point connected with these metronymica which deserves attention: *viz.*, that the family names are all those of Brahmanical *gotras*. The explanation of this fact is that in accordance with the precepts of the *Smṛiti*, the *Rajas* were considered members of the *gotras* of their *purohitas*, and called themselves after the latter" (Bühler). The Pāli canonical literature contains a typical instance of metronymica in the expression *Rājā Māgadhō Ajātasattu Velahiputto* where the name of the mother of the king does not seem to have been connected with any *Ṛṣi* or *Purohita*. One cannot be quite certain about the identification of *Gotiputa* with either *Gaṇṭhiputra* as suggested by Hultzsch and Lüders or *Kaṇṭhiputra* as suggested by Cunningham and others. In some of the Sanchi and Sonari Stūpa Inscriptions we come across the name of a *Gotiputa* corresponding to the Pāli *Koṭiputta*. It is difficult to say whether *Goti* was an *apabhraṃśa* of *Koṭi* or *vice versa*, whether *Koṭi* or *Goti* was originally derived from the name of a tribe and country or from that of any *Ṛṣi* or *Purohita*. Dr. Bühler is responsible for the equation of *Āgaraja* with *Aṅgāradyut*, which is but another name of *Maṅgalagraha*, the Mercury. It is difficult to understand the phonetic change of *Aṅgāra* into *Āgara*, while the change of *Agra* into *Āga* is very common in some of the modern Indian Vernaculars. *Rajusa* may have been used as a Genitive singular of *Rāja*, or else it may have been a clerical mistake for *Rājasa*.] N

2. Sagāna raja ...

B. [Pillar of]
Gateway at
Batanmura.

Agaraju ...

toranaṃ ...

BT

Sugānaṃ raje

Āgaraju

toraṇaṃ

CT (2)

“Within the dominion of the Śūngas the Gateway (has been caused to be made by a donor related to *Āgaraju*.) (?) Tr

[C. p. 128, G.P.I. 2 (Pl. LIII)—reads *Saganam, rajña*. L. No. 681.] N

3. ... hena

C. [Pillar of]
Gateway at
Batanmura.

... toranamca

... kata.

BT

... tena

... toraṇaṃ ca

... kata

CT (3)

“The Gateway and [the ornamental designs] have been made [by a donor who was the son of somebody whose name is effaced.]” Tr

[C. p. 128, G.P.I. 3 (Pl. LIII). L. No. 689.] N

1. Vedisā Cāpadevāya* Revatimitabhāriyāya paṭhamo
thabho dānaṃ.

BT (4)

“First pillar—the gift of Cāpadevī, the wife of
Revatimitra, a lady from Vidiśā.” Tr

2. Votive
Labels on
Pillars
(Stambhas.):
(a) Pillar I—
S. E. Quad-
rant.

[**devāyā* (BT). C. p. 132; Pl. 1 (Pl. LIII). H. No. 22. L. No. 712—
translates—“Gift of the first pillar by *Cāpadevā*, wife of *Revatimitra*
Revatimitra) from *Vediśa* (*Vidiśā*).” “*Vediśa* is the old name of

Besnagar, a ruined city situated in the fork of the Bes or Vedisa river and the Betwa within two miles of Bhilsa. The inscription is engraved on the first pillar of the Railing next to the Gateway" (C).] N

(b) Pillar II—
S. E. Quad.
rant.

2. Bhadīntasa Aya-Bhutarakhitasa Khujatidukiyasa
dānam. BT (5)

"The gift of the Most Gentle Master Bhūtaraksita
of Kubjatinduka." Tr

[C. p. 132; Pl. 2 (Pl. LIII)—reads Bhūta. II. No. 23. L. 713. According to C's rendering *Bhadānta* is the designation of a lay brother, while *Aya* or *Ārya* is a designation which is the same in meaning as the English Reverend. H renders the two designations alike, i.e., as Reverend, in all other instances but those where *Bhadānta* and *Aya* are both used. L leaves them untranslated. In the Pāli Piṭaka texts *Bhadānta* has been used only with reference to the Buddha as a mark of respect.¹ In a later Pāli formula of invocation the deities are addressed as *Bhaddantā*, a mode of address which corresponds to the English 'Gentlemen' or the Bengali '*Bhadramahodaygar*.' This latter spelling leaves no room for doubt that *Bhadānta* has connection with the Sk. and Pāli *Bhadra* and can, therefore, be sanskritised as *Bhadrānta*, corresponding to a Bengali expression like '*Bhadrer Śeṣ*,' or '*Yār-par-nāi-bhadra*,' i.e., 'gentle to the extreme' 'perfectly gentle,' or 'perfect gentleman.' In the inscriptions recording the gift of three cave-dwellings made by Daśaratha, Aśoka's successor, the Ājivikas or Ājivika mendicants, to whom the gift is made, are referred to as *Bhadānta* Ājivikas, while in Aśoka's inscriptions they are introduced simply as Ājivikas. There is only one inscription, L. No. 99, in which *Bhadānta* or *Bhadānta* is used as the distinctive title of a Jaina monk. As regards Buddhist literature, the *Milinda* is perhaps the oldest work in which *Bhadānta* occurs as a mode of address of a Buddhist *Thera* who attained Arhatship and was proficient in the art of argument on all questions relating to Buddhism. In the Brahmanical writings *Bhadānta* is nowhere met with as a mode of address or a specific designation of a teacher. There are on the other hand numerous inscriptions in which *Bhadānta*, *Bhadānta* or *Bhayānta* is met with as the title or honorific designation of the Buddhist monks—*Bhikkhus* and *Sthaviras*. There can be no doubt that *Bhadānta* carries with it primarily the idea

¹ *Bhadante' ti te Bhikkhū bhagavato paccassosup.*

of gentleness. It is only in a secondary or derivative sense that the term denotes a person worthy of respect or veneration. There is some difference between 'Reverend Sir' and 'Venerable Sir,' the latter expression being applicable to persons of old age, to those who have become *Thera* or *Sthavira*. But we have got to decide whether *Bhadata* or *Bhadanta* has been applied in the Buddhist inscriptions as a general term of respect for all *Bhikṣus* or only for those who are *Sthaviras*. There are some inscriptions in which both *Thera* and *Bhadanta* are employed as designations of the Buddhist *Bhikṣu*, e.g., I. Nos. 454, 987, 993, 1006, 1007, 1012, 1020, 1040, 1041, 1060, 1080, 1081, 1082, 1083, 1089, 1094, 1171, 1223, 1250, 1289. It seems to be beyond any doubt that the term *Thera* is employed in addition to *Bhadanta* in order to denote a senior monk just in the same way that the term *Therī* is used in I. No. 1006, instead of *Bhikkhuni* or *Bhichuni* to distinguish a senior Buddhist Sister from an ordinary nun. So far as the Barhut Inscriptions are concerned, *Bhadanta* seems to have been used not as a term of respect for denoting an elderly member of the Buddhist order but simply as general designation of a *Bhikṣu* or *Bhichu* as distinguished from a *Bhikkhuni* or *Bhichuni*. We find that in instances where the donor happens to be a Buddhist nun, she is distinctly introduced as *Bhikkhuni* or *Bhichuni*, while in cases the donor is a monk, he is not called by contrast a *Bhikṣu* or *Bhichu*. The distinctive designation used in the case of a monk donor is *Bhadanta* and *Aya*. Among the Sanchi and Sonari inscriptions, on the other hand, we notice that in instances where the reference is to a deceased *Thera*, his characteristic designation is *Sapurisa*—'The good Man.' Further, we notice that in the labels in which the donor is expressly called a *Bhikṣu* or *Bhichu*, the designation *Bhadanta* or *Aya* is dispensed with, and *vice versa*. But coming to somewhat later Votive inscriptions couched in languages more or less affected by the Sanskrit phonology such as those found in Mathurā and other places, *Bhadanta* is applied as the designation of a monk donor who is also described as a *Bhikṣu* or *Sākya Bhikṣu*. Even there is an inscription at Amarāvati, I. No. 240, in which *Bhayaṃṛī* (*Bhadantī*) is met with as the designation of a Buddhist nun. Thus these later Buddhist inscriptions can be shown to have made explicit what was implicit in the earlier ones. If *Bhadanta* be taken to be a general designation of a *Bhikṣu*, how does it differ from *Aya*, *Āriya*, or *Ārya* equally applied as the designation of a *Bhikṣu* or a *Bhikṣuṇī* with or without the additional designation *Bhadanta* or *Bhadantī* preceding it? It would be idle to dispute that *Aya* or *Ārya* is a specific designation of a *Bhikṣu* or of a *Bhikṣuṇī*. Those who do so can be referred to a large number

of the Jaina inscriptions that unmistakably prove the case. At all events, the Barhut label under notice shows that both *Bhadanta* and *Aya* were employed as designations of a *Bhikṣu*. If so, what is the possible difference between the two? In a passage of the Vinaya Sutta-vibhaṅga a number of *Theras* are referred to as *Ayyas*: “*Ayyo Sāriputto, Ayyo Mahāmoggallāno, Ayyo Mahākaccāno, Ayyo Mahākotthilo, Ayyo Mahākoppino, Ayyo Mahācundo, Ayyo Anuruddho, Ayyo Revato, Ayyo Upāli, Ayyo Ānando, Ayyo Rāhulo.*” All of these *Theras* were either *Arahats* or at least occupied one of the eight *Aryan* ranks. In one of the Amarāvati inscriptions, L. 1280, *Ayira* (*Ārya*) is applied as the designation of a monk donor who is said to have been an *Arhat*. Who is an *Aya* or *Ārya*? According to general usage, an *Aryan* is one whose condition is not servitude and one who is cultured. To the Buddhist, an *Aryan* is one who is not slave to passions, customs, conventions and dogmas, and is on the contrary, inwardly free and thoroughly enlightened, and lives a self-conscious life, always mindful and aware of the facts of experience. Master is the English word whereby *Aya* can be adequately rendered. *Bhadanta* is a common designation of all *Bhikkhus* or male members of the Buddhist monastic order, while *Aya* is the title of address of those *Bhikkhus* who are advanced in Aryanhood.] N

3. *Aya-Gorakhitasā thabho dānaṃ.* BT (6)

“The pillar-gift of the Noble Master Gorakṣita.” Tr

[C. p. 132; Pl. 4 (Pl. LIII)—omits *thabho*. II. No. 25.
L. No. 715.] N

4. *Aya-Pamthakasa thambho dānaṃ.* BT (7)

“The pillar-gift of the Noble Master Panthaka.” Tr

[C. p. 132; Pl. 5 (Pl. LIII)—II. No. 26. L. No. 716.
Cf. L. No. 473—*Bhichu Pamthaka*.] N

(c) Pillar
VI—S. E.
Quadrant.

5. *Dabhinikāya Mahamukhisa dhitu Badhikaya
bhichuniya dānaṃ.*

BT

*Daṃbhinikāya Mahāmukhisa dhitu Bodhikāya
bhichuniyā dānaṃ.*

CT (8)

“The gift of Mahāmukhya’s daughter—the nun Daṃbhinikā Bodhikā—Bodhikā from Darbha (?)” Tr

[C. p. 132; Pl. 7 (Pl. LIII)—reads *Dhila-badhikaya*. II. No. 27. L. No. 718 cf. *Bodhi* as a name in L. Nos. 368, 490, 639, 1041, etc.] N

6. Pāṭaliputā Nāgasenāya Koḍiyāniyā dānaṃ. BT (9) (d) Pillar
“The gift of Nāgasenā of the Kaundīnya family, VII—S. E.
from Pāṭaliputra.” Tr Quadrant.

[C. p. 132; Pl. 8. (Pl. LIII). II. No. 21—*Koḍiyāni* might be the feminine of *Koḍiya*; it might also correspond to the patronymic *Kaundīnyāyāni*, cf. *Kaccāna* = *Kātyāyana*; *Moggallāna* = *Mandgalyāyana*, L. No. 719.] N

7. Samanāyā bhikhuniyā Cundaṭṭhikāyā dānaṃ. BT (e) Pillar
Sumanāyā bhikhuniyā Cundaṭṭhikāyā dānaṃ. CT (10) VIII—S. E.
“The gift of the nun Cundaṭṭhikā Sumanā— Quadrant.
Sumanā from Cundasthali.” Tr

[C. p. 132; P. 2. (Pl. LIII). II. No. 29—equates *Sumanā* with *Śramaṇā*, L. No. 720.] N

8. Bahadagojaṭīranatana (?) Isārakhitaputasa (f) Pillar
Anandaṃdasa thabho. BT IX—S. E.
Quadrant.

Bahadagojaṭīrasa dānaṃ (?) Isirakhitaputasa
Anandaṃdasa thabho. CT (11)
“The pillar—a gift of Ānanda, son of Isirakṣita,
from Bahatagojaṭīra (?)” Tr

[C. p. 133; Pl. 10 (Pl. LIII)—reads *“gajajitira”*. L. No. 721.] N

9. Bhojakatakāya Diganagāye bhichuniyā dānaṃ. BT (g) Pillar
Bhojakatakāya Diganagāya bhichuniyā dānaṃ. CT (12) X—S. E.
“The gift of the nun Dinnāgā from Bhojakata.” Tr Quadrant.

[C. p. 133; Pl. 12 (Pl. LIII). reads *“gaye”*, H. No. 31. L. No. 723.] N

- (h) Pillar
XII—S.E.
Quadrant. 10. Bibikānadikaṭa-Budhino gahapatino dānaṃ. BT
Bimbikānadikaṭa-Bodhino gahapatino dānaṃ. CT (13)
“The gift of the householder Bodhi from
Bimbikānadikata.” Tr

[C. p. 133 ; Pl. 14 (Pl. L. III)—reads *Dikila* = *Dikṣita*. H. No. 33—
equates *nadi* with *nandi*, and *Budhi* with *Buddhi*. L. No. 725.] N

- (i) Pillar
XIII—S.E.
Quadrant. 11. Dhamagutasa dānaṃ thabho. BT (14)
“The gift of Dharmagupta—a pillar.” Tr

[C. p. 133 ; Pl. 16 (Pl. LIII). H. No. 35. L. No. 727.
Read *thambho*.] N

- (j) Pillar
XIV—S.E.
Quadrant. 12. Bibikānadikaṭa-Suladhasa asaṃvārikasa dānaṃ. BT (15)
“The gift of (a scene of a trooper by) the trooper sulabdhā
from Bimbikānadikata.” Tr

[C. p. 133 ; Pl. 17 (Pl. LIII)—reads *Dikati*. H. No. 36. L.
No. 728. *Asaṃvārika* = *Āśvaṃvāra*—a borrowing from Old Persian *Asabāri*
found in the cuneiform inscriptions, whence modern Persian *Swār*. In
modern Indian languages the word occurs as *Aswār*, *Swār*.] N

- (k) Pillar
XV—S.E.
Quadrant. 13. Pusasa thambho dānaṃ. BT (16)
“The pillar-gift of Puṣya.” Tr

[C. p. 133 ; Pl. 18 (Pl. LIII)—reads *thabho*. H. No. 37. L. 729.] N

- (l) Pillar
XVI—S.E.
Quadrant. 14. Dhamarakhitasa dānaṃ. BT (17)
“The gift of Dharmarakṣita.” Tr

[C. p. 133 ; Pl. 23 (Pl. LIII). H. No. 41. L. No. 734.
Read *Dhama*.] N

- (m) Pilla
LIV—S.
Gate-Corner
Pillars. 15. Aya-Isidinasa bhānakasa dānaṃ. BT (18)
“The gift of the Noble Master Rṣidatta, the Reciter.” Tr

[C. p. 134; Pl. 27 (Pl. LIV). H. No. 15. Ho. No. 11. L. No. 738. C. takes *Bhānaka* to be the name of a place. *Bhānaka* = the Preacher (HL). *Bhānaka* is not the name of a place, it is simply an epithet. The word *Bhānaka* does not technically denote a preacher. Preaching is rather the function of a *Kathī* or *Kuthika*. The essential duty of a *Bhānaka* consists in the recitation or rehearsal of the sacred texts with a view to preserving and handing them down by oral tradition. In Buddha's own words we can trace two expressions *Vādī*, meaning the upholder of an opinion, the propounder of a view, and *Kathī* or *Kuthika*, denoting a preacher or an instructor. According to tradition, the institution of *Bhānakas* was of a somewhat later origin. The earliest tradition regarding the rise of the *Bhānakas* is to be found in Buddhaghosa's *Sumaṅgala-Vilāsinī*. This tradition is repeated in a much later work—the *Mahābodhivaṃsa* with a slight variation. According to this tradition, it so happened that during the session of the first Buddhist Council as soon as the *Vinaya* was recited and the *Vinaya* texts were compiled, the preservation of the *Vinaya* traditions and texts by regular recitation was entrusted to the care of the Venerable Upāli; when in the course of rehearsal of the *Dhamma* the *Dīghāgama* or *Dīgha-Nikāya* came to be compiled, the preservation of this text was entrusted to the care of the Venerable Ānanda; in a similar way the preservation of the *Majjhimāgama* or *Majjhima-Nikāya* was entrusted to the care of the disciples of Sāriputta, that of *Saṃyuttāgama* or *Saṃyutta-Nikāya* was entrusted to the care of the Venerable Kassapa, that of the *Ekuttarāgama* or *Aṅguttara-Nikāya* was entrusted to the care of the Venerable Anuruddha. Thus one is to conceive the rise of five Schools of *Bhānakas*, to wit, *Vinaya-bhānakā*, *Dīgha-bhānakā*, *Majjhima-bhānakā*, *Saṃyutta-bhānakā* and *Aṅguttara-bhānakā*. But curiously enough, throughout the Buddhist literature we nowhere meet with the expression *Vinaya-bhānakā*, while in Buddhaghosa's commentaries the views of the *Dīgha-bhānakas* and the rest are quoted by name and discussed. Even we have mention of *Dhammapada-bhānakā* in the *Atthasālinī*.¹ Buddhaghosa is really reticent about the origin of *Khuddaka-bhānakā*, though he expressly states that the *Khuddakāgama* or *Khuddaka-Nikāya* consisted of the books of the *Vinaya* as well as the *Abhidhamma-Piṭaka* in addition to the 12 or 15 books belonging to the *Sutta-Piṭaka*.² He does not explain why, if the *Vinaya* books were comprised within the *Khuddaka-Nikāya*, the *Vinaya* traditions were separately placed in charge of Upāli. Moreover, in the *Mahābodhivaṃsa*

¹ *Atthasālinī*, p. 18.

² *Sumaṅgala-Vilāsinī*, I. p. 12f.

we read that the *Khuddaka-Nikāya*, comprising the books of the *Abhidhamma-Piṭaka* and some books of the *Sutta-Piṭaka* was jointly rehearsed by the *Sthaviras* of the First Council and that the preservation of these texts was committed to the care of them all.¹ In a passage of the *Milinda* ² we have, among the citizens of the ideal *Dhammanagara*, the mention of :—

1. *Suttantikā*—Masters in the *Suttanta*, i.e., in the *Sutta-Piṭaka* ;
2. *Vinayikā*—Masters in the *Vinaya*, i.e., in the *Vinaya-Piṭaka* ;
3. *Ābhidhammikā*—Masters in the *Abhidhamma*, i.e., in the *Abhidhamma-Piṭaka* ;
4. *Dhammakathikā*—The preachers of the *Dhamma* ;
5. *Jātaka-bhāṇakā*—The repeaters of *Jātakas* ;
6. *Dīgha-bhāṇakā*—The repeaters of the *Dīgha-Nikāya* ;
7. *Majjhima-bhāṇakā*—The repeaters of the *Majjhima-Nikāya* ;
8. *Samyutta-bhāṇakā*—The repeaters of the *Samyutta-Nikāya* ;
9. *Aṅguttara-bhāṇakā*—The repeaters of the *Aṅguttara-Nikāya* ;
10. *Khuddaka-bhāṇakā*—The repeaters of the *Khuddaka-Nikāya*.

Two facts are quite clear from this passage. First, that the function of a *Dhammakathika* was different from that of a *Bhāṇaka*. Secondly, that in the time of the *Milinda* there were in the country at least six schools of repeaters of *Jātakas* and those of the five *Nikāyas* (*passim* p. 27), which clearly proves that there was a separate collection of Commentary-*Jātakas* apart from one included in the *Khuddaka-Nikāya*. The first four *Nikāyas*, most of the *Vinaya* books and some books of the *Khuddaka-Nikāya* and the *Abhidhamma-Piṭaka* contain, beside the chapter arrangement of contents, divisions according to *Bhāṇavāras* or portions recited at a time. We can imagine that the *Bhāṇakas* represented, in institutions for popular instruction, persons noted for their power of memory and extemporising. The institution of *Bhāṇakas* has continued and survives till to-day in India and other eastern countries, where one can meet a number of persons getting things by heart for the purpose of recitation without any attempt to grasp their meaning.] N

¹ Mahābodhivamsa, p. 92.

² *Milinda*, p. 341 f.

16. Yasika. BT
 Yasika [sa dānaṃ (?)]. FT (19)
 'The gift of Yaśika' (?) Tr

[C. p. 135, Pl. 46 (Pl. LIV). L. No. 757.] N

17. Sonāya dānaṃ thabho. BT (20)
 "The gift of Śravaṇā—a pillar." Tr (a) Pillars
of Railings—
S. W. Quad-
rant.

[C. p. 135 ; Pl. 47 (Pl. LIV). L. No. 758.] N

18. Cekulana-Saṅghamitasa thabho dānaṃ. BT (21)
 "The pillar-gift of Saṅghamitra Cekulana—the
 inhabitant of Cikula (?)." Tr

[C.p. 135 ; Pl. 48 (Pl. IIV)—reads *cakulanam* and *Saṅghamitasa*.
 H. N. 64. (1). I. No. 758.] N

19. Nāgaye bhichuniye dānaṃ. BT
 Nāgāya bhichuniyā dānaṃ. CT (22)
 "The gift of Nāgā, the nun." Tr

[C. p. 135 ; Pl. 50 (Pl. LIV). H. No. 65. I. No. 761.] N

20. Bhadaṃṭa-Valakasa Bhānakasa dānaṃ thabho. BT (23)
 "The pillar—a gift of the Most Gentle Valaka,
 the Reciter." Tr

[C. p. 135 ; Pl. 51 (Pl. LIV). H. No. 65—reads *dāna*. L. No. 762.] N

21. Karahakaṭa-Aya-Bhutakasa thabho dānaṃ. BT (24)
 "The pillar-gift of the Noble Master Bhūtaka
 of Karahakata." Tr

[C. p. 135 ; Pl. 52 (Pl. LIV)—reads *cayabhū*. H. No. 67. L. No. 763.
 H and L retain the name Bhutaka.] N

22. Kosabheyekaya bhikuniya Venuvagāmiyāya
 Dhamārakhitāyā dānaṃ. BT
 Kosambeyakāya Bhikhuniyā Veṇuvagāmiyāya
 Dhammarakhitāyā dānaṃ. CT (25)
 “The gift of the nun Dharmarakṣitā of Veṇugrāma
 in the suburb of Kauśāmbī.” Tr

[C. p. 135 ; PI. 53 (Pl. LIV). L. No. 754. *Venuvagāma* = *Venuvagrāma* (C) ; *Veṇukagrāma* (L), *Venuvagrāma* or ‘*Bambutown*’ may be identified, according to C, with the village *Ben-pūrca* still existing to the north-east of Kosam. Cf. *Kosambika-Sutta* (Majjhima-Nikāya) ; *Kosambī-Jātaka* (F No. 428) ; *Kosumbiyanagara* (F. Vol. p. 239).] N

23. Bhadata-Mahilasa thabho dānaṃ. BT (26)
 “The pillar-gift of the Most Gentle Madhvila (?).” Tr

[C. p. 136 ; PI. 56 (Pl. LIV). H. No. 69. L. No. 766. *Mahila* = *Mahila* (C H L). The correct reading of *Mahila* may be *Mihila* = *Mihira* of L. Nos. 20, 21, 22.] N

24. Karahakatā Samikasa dānaṃ thabho. BT (27)
 “The pillar—a gift of ‘Samika’ of Karahakata..” Tr

[C. p. 136 ; PI. 56 (Pl. LIV). H. No. 70—equates *Samika* with *Śyāmaka*. L. No 767. *Samika* can as well be equated with *Samika* or *Svāmika*.] N

25. Bhadata-Samakasa thabho dānaṃ. BT (28)
 “The pillar-gift of the Most Gentle Śamaka
 (Śyāmaka ?).” Tr.

[C. p. 136 ; PI. 57 (Pl. IIV). H. No. 71. L No. 768. *Samaka* = *Syāmaka* (H L).] N

26. ... ratā bhikhuniya thabho dānaṃ. BT (C)
 ... to bhikhuniyā thabho dānaṃ. BT (H)
 ... ya bhikhuniyā thabho dānaṃ. CT

Connecting this with the fragment with four letters yielding the reading Avāsikā (C. p. 143), the inscription may be completed as :—

[Āvāsikā] [ya bhikhuniyā thaṃbho dānaṃ]. FI (29)

“The pillar-gift of the nun of the local monastic abode.” (?) Tr

[C. p. 136 ; PI. 61 (Pl. LIV). H. No. 74. L. No. 772. In justification of the above restoration and rendering, it may be noticed that in all other labels but this, the name of *Bhikkhuni* is invariably mentioned. The fragment supplied contains a word which is evidently anything but a personal name. What is more, four letters of the fragment precisely supply the four letters missing from the Pillar-inscription under notice. See FI. No. 3 *passim*.] N

27. Bhadatasa Aya-Isipālitasā Bhānakasa Navakami-
kasa dānaṃ. BT (30)

(o) Corner
Pillars —
W. Gate.

“The gift of the Most Gentle and Noble Master
Rṣipālita, the reciter and superintendent
of building-operations (connected with a
Buddhist monastic residence).” Tr

[C. p. 136 ; PI. 62 (Pl. LIV). Ho. No. 24. H. No. 76. L. No. 773. For the meaning of *Navakaṃmika*, see the Vinaya Texts, S.B.E., Pt. III pp. 189 foll. Cf. *Navakamika* in L. Nos. 154, 987 ; *Navakamaka* in L. No. 1250 ; *Navakamika* in L. No. 23.] N

28. Moragirimhā Nāgilāyā bhikhuniyā dānaṃ thabhbā. BT
Moragirimhā Nāgilāyā bhikhuniyā dānaṃ
thaṃbho. CT (31)

(p) Pillars
of Railing—
N. W. Quad-
rant.

“The pillar—a gift of Nāgilā, the nun, from
Mayūragiri.” Tr

* [C. p. 137 ; PI. 67 (Pl. LIV)—reads *ogirihma*. H. No. 81 (1). L. No. 778. Cf. *Mayūraparvata*—a locality referred to in a quotation of the *Caraṇavyūhabhāṣya* ; Bühler's *Āpastamba*, S.B.E., Introd. p. XXXI, f.n. ; Schroeder's *Maitrāyaṇi-Saṃhitā*, p. XXIV. *Thabhbā*=pillars (H L).] N

29. Vedisā Phagudevasa dānaṃ. BT (32)
 “The gift of Phalgudeva from Vidiśā.” Tr

[C. p. 137 ; Pl. 69 (Pl. LIV)—reads *Vedisā*. H. No. 82. L. No. 780.] N

30. Purikāya dāyakana dānaṃ. BT
 Purikāya dāyakānaṃ dānaṃ. CT (33)
 “The gift of the lay supporters of monastic
 establishments at Purikā.” Tr

[C. p. 137 ; Pl. 71 (Pl. LIV)—reads *°daya*, H. No. 83. L. No. 782. *Dāyaka* a giver (Childers); a donor (H L). Here *dāyaka* seems to have been used in its later Buddhist technical sense to denote a Buddhist donor who undertakes or is held responsible for the maintenance of a monastic establishment. Here *Purikā* is definitely a feminine form.] N

31. Vedisā Anurādhāya dānaṃ. BT (34)
 “The gift of Anurādhā from Vidiśā.” Tr

[C. p. 137 ; Pl. 73 (Pl. LIV).—reads *°radhaya*. H. No. 85. L. No. 784.] N

- (g) Corner 32.[m]ika[sa dānaṃ]. BT (H)
 Pillar — N. [Bhadata...bhānakasa navakam]ika[sa dānaṃ]. BT (35)
 Gate. “The gift of [the Most Gentle..., the reciter and
 superintendent of monastic building-operations.]” Tr

[C. Pl. XIX. H. No 154. L. No. 787.] N

- (r) Displac- 33. Bhadata-Kanakasa bhānakasa thabho dānaṃ
 ed Pillar. Cikulaniyasa. BT (36)
 “The pillar-gift of the Most Gentle Kanaka of
 Cikulana (Citkula ?)” Tr

[C. p. 137 ; Pl. 77 (Pl. LIV)—reads *Kanadasa*. H. No. 88. L. No. 789. Cf. *Cekulana*, Pl. 18 *ante*.] N

34. Bhadata-Budharakhitasa Saṭupadānasa dānaṃ
thabho.

BT

(*) Railing
Pillars—N.
E. Quadrant.

Bhadanta-Budharakhitasa Saṭupadānikasa dānaṃ
thambho.

CT (37)

“The pillar—a gift of the Most Gentle Buddha-
rakṣita who is adept in the practice and
experiences of mindfulness.”

Tr

[C. p. 138 ; PI. 80 (Pl. IV)—reads *o padanasa*. II. No. 90. L. No. 792. *Saṭupadāna* who is versed in science (H) ; *Saṭupadāna* seems to be a monumental Prakrit counterpart of the Pāli *Satipatthāna* or *Satipatthānika* and the Sanskrit *Smṛaityupasthāna* or *Smṛaityupasthānika*. Like *Peṭaki*, this particular epithet of a *Bhikṣu* is met with only among the Barhut Votive Labels. *Saṭupadāna* does not appear to be a patronymic derived from the name of a place.] N

35. Moragirimhā Pusāyā* dānaṃ thabhā†

BT (38)

“Pillars—the gift of Pusyā from Mayūragiri.”

Tr

[*Read *Pusāya*. †*Thabho* may have been intended by the scribe. C. p. 138 ; PI. 84 (Pl. IV)—reads *thabho*. II. No. 94. L. No. 796.] N

36. Aya-Culasa Sutaṃtikasa Bhogavaḍhaniyasa
dānaṃ.

BT (39)

“The gift of the Noble Master Kṣudra, the
Sautrāntika, of Bhogavardhana.”

Tr

[C. p. 138 ; PI. 95 (Pl. LV). H. No. 95. L. No. 797. *Sutaṃtika* = one versed in the Sūtrāntas (H L). Cf. *Sutatika* in L. No. 635 ; *Sutatakinī* or *Sutatikini* in L. Nos. 319, 352. The term *Suttantika* in the sense of a master in the *Sūtrānta* as distinguished from the *Vinaya* and the *Abhidhamma* occurs in the *Milinda* (See note on *Bhānaka* sub PI. I. ante). Evidently this term came to replace the older expression *Suttatthara* which is met with in the *Mahāparinibbāna* and other *Suttas*. Here the term might be taken as well to denote an adherent of the *Suttavāda* or *Sautrāntika* school. The point cannot however be decided unless the relative date of the Barhut inscriptions and the rise of the school is ascertained.] N

37. Moragirimhā Thupadāsasa dānaṃ thabhā. BT (40)
 “ Pillars—the gift of Stūpadāsa from Mayūragiri.” Tr

[C. p. 138 ; Pl. 8 ; (Pl. LV)—reads *thabho*. H. No. 96. L. No. 796.] N

38. Nāsika-Gorakhitāya thabho dānaṃ Vasukasa
 bhariyāya. BT (41)
 “ The pillar-gift of Gorakṣitā, the wife of
 Vasuka of Nāsika.” Tr

[C. p. 138 ; Pl. 87 (Pl. LV). L. No. 799.] N

39. Maharasa amtevāsino Aya-Samakasa thabho
 dānaṃ. BT (42)
 “ The pillar-gift of Mahara (Madhvara ?) the
 resident pupil of the Noble Master Śyāmaka
 (Śamaka ?).” Tr

[C. p. 138 ; Pl. 11 (Pl. LV). H. No. 97. L. No. 800. According to H L the label records the gift of *Ārya Śyāmaka*, the disciple of *Mahara*. *Mahara* may here be regarded as a misreading for *Mihira*, cf. *Mahila* Pl. 22 *ante*.] N

40. [Pusadātaye Nagarikaye bhichuniye] [Sakāya
 thabho dānaṃ]. BT
 [Pusadatāya Nāgarikāya bhichuniyā] [Sakāya
 thambho dānaṃ]. CT (43)
 “ The pillar-gift of Puṣyadattā, the Buddhist nun,
 of Nagari.” Tr

[C. p. 138 ; Pl. 93 and 90 (Pl. LV)—counts two labels. L. Nos. 806 and 803. Is *Sakā* = Śakrā or Śākya ?] N

(c) Pillar-
 at Batan-
 mara.

41. Naṃdagirino bhānakasa Selapurakasa thabho
 dānaṃ. BT (44)
 “ The pillar-gift of Nandagiri, the Reciter, of
 Śailapura.” Tr

[C p. 138 ; Pl. 91 (Pl. LV). L. No. 804.] N

42. Moragiri-Jitamitasa dānaṃ. BT (45)
 “The gift of Jitamitra of Mayūragiri.” Tr

[C. p. 139; PI. 95 (Pl. LV). L. 808.] N

43. Karahakata-Utaragidhikasa thabho dānaṃ. BT (46)
 “The pillar-gift of Uttaragr̥hika (?) of
 Karahakata.” Tr

[C. p. 139; PI. 96 (LV). L. No. 809—*gidhika*=*gr̥dhaka*.] N

44. Culadhakasa Purikāya Bhatudesakasa dānaṃ. BT (47) ^{(u) Pillars}
 “The gift of ‘Culadhaka’ (Kṣudrāndhraka ?) at Pataora.
 the superintendent of the distribution of food
 in a monastery of Purikā.” Tr

[C. p. 139; PI. 99 (Pl. LV)—takes *Bhatūdesaka* to be the name of a place. L. No. 812. *Bhatūdesaka*=Pāli *Bhattudesaka*.] N

45. Vedisa-Ayamāya dānaṃ. BT (48)
 “The gift of Āryamā(?) of Vidiśā.”

[C. p. 139; PI. 100 (Pl. LV)—reads *Maya*. L. No. 813. *Aya*
Māya=the reverend *Māyā* (C).] N

1. Sapagutaye bhichuniye dānaṃ. BT
 Sapagutāya bhichuniyā dānaṃ. CT (49)
 “The gift of the nun Sarpaguptā.” Tr

3. Votive
Labels on
Rail-bars
(suci).
(a) S. W.
quadrant.

[C. p. 139; RI. 1 (Pl. LV). L. No. 815.] N

2. Pāṭaliputā Kodiyāniyā Sakatadevāya dānaṃ. BT (50)
 “The gift of Śakatadevī, a lady of the Kaundīnya
 family, from Pāṭaliputra.” Tr

[*vāyā (BT). C. p. 139; RI. 2 (Pl. LV). H. No. 100. L. No. 816. C
 reads *Sakaja*. *Sakatadevā* seems to be the wife of a noble or prince of
Pāṭaliputra. It is difficult to ascertain whether she was born

of a *Brahmin* or a *Kṣatriya* family. She came of the same family or class belonging to the *Kauṇḍīṅya* gotra to which *Nāgasenā*, the female donor of a pillar, belonged.] N

3. Kākamḍiya-Somāya bhichuniya dānaṃ. BT
 Kākamḍiya-Somāya bhichuniyā dānaṃ. CT (51)
 "The gift of the nun Somā of Kākandī." Tr

[C. p. 139 ; RI. 3 (Pl. LV). H. No. 101. L. No. 817. Cf. *Kākandī* in the Jaina *Paṭṭaḍaḷī* of the *Kharataragaccha* (IA. XI, p. 247). It was the birthplace of a Jaina Tīrthaṅkara. See reference to Kākandī in the *Paramattha-jotikā*, *Sutta-Nipāta-Comy.*, V. 300.] N

4. Pāṭaliputā Mahīdasenasa dānaṃ. BT
 Pāṭaliputā Mahīdasenasa dānaṃ. CT (52)
 "The gift of Mahendrasena from Pāṭaliputra." Tr

[C. p. 139 ; RI. 4 (Pl. LV). H. No. 102. L. No. 818. Of the three donors from *Pāṭaliputra*, one is at least found to be male. Their names are recorded in three closely located labels. Moreover, the name of *Mahīdasena* connects him at once with *Nāgasenā*.] N

5. Cudathīlikāyā Nāgadevāyā bhikhuniyi [dānaṃ]. BT
 Cudathīlikāyā Nāgadevāyā bhikhuniyā dānaṃ. CT (53)
 "The gift of the nun Nāgadevī of Cundasthali (?)." Tr

[C. p. 139 ; RI. 5 (Pl. LV). H. No. 103. L. No. 819.] N

6. Cudathīlikāyā Kuṇjarāyā dānaṃ. BT
 Cudathīlikāyā Kuṇjarāyā dānaṃ. CT (54)
 "The gift of Kuṇjarā of Cundasthali." Tr

[C. p. 139 ; RI. 6 (Pl. LV). H. No. 104. L. No. 820. This is the third label recording the gift of a female donor from *Cundasthali*. A friend suggests that *Cudathīlikā* might as well be equated with *Cūḷa-thīlika* or *Cullathīli*, meaning a hamlet.] N

7. Dhamaguta-matu Pusadevaya dānaṃ. BT
 Dhammaguta-mātu Pusadevāya dānaṃ. CT (55)
 "The gift of Puṣyadevī, mother of Dharmagupta." Tr

[C. p. 139 ; RI. 7 (Pl. LV). H. No. 105. L. No. 821.] N

- 8-9. Ujhikāye dana. BT
 Ujjhikāya dānaṃ. CT (59)
 "The gift of Ujhikā." Tr
 Dhamarakhitaya dāna suci. BT
 Dhammarakhitāya dānaṃ suci. CT (60)
 "The gift of Dharmaraksitā—a rail." Tr

[C. p. 139 ; RI. 8-9 (Pl. LV)—reads *Yajhikiyā* and *dānam*. H. No. 106. L. Nos. 822-823. *Ujhikā* means one who relinquishes or has relinquished, from *√ujjha* (to abandon, to throw off).] N

10. Atimutasa dānaṃ.* BT (61)
 "The gift of Atimukta." Tr

[* dānaṃ (BT). C. p. 139 ; RI. 10 (Pl. LV)—equates *Atimuta* with *Atrimuta*. H. No. 108. L. No. 824.] N

11. Nadutaraya dāna suci. BT
 Nāṃdutarāya dānaṃ suci. CT (62)
 "The gift of Nandottarā—a rail." Tr

[C. p. 140 ; RI. 12 (Pl. LV). H. No. 110. L. No. 826.] N

- *12. [Mu]ḍasa dānaṃ. BT (63) (b) S. ga
 "The gift of Muṇḍa." Tr

[C. p. 130 ; RI. 13 (Pl. LV). H. No. 111. L. No. 827.] N

- *13. Isānasa dāna. BT
 Īsānasa dānaṃ. CT (64)
 “The gift of Īsāna.” Tr
 [C. p. 140 ; RI. 14 (Pl. LV). H. No. 112. L. No. 828.] N
- *14. Isidatasa dānaṃ. BT (65)
 “The gift of R̥sidatta.” Tr
 [C. p. 140 ; RI. 15 (Pl. LV). H. No. 113. L. No. 830. Cf. *Isidinasa* in Pl. 15 *ante*.] N
- *15. Aya-Punāvasuno suci dānaṃ. BT (66)
 “The rail-gift of the Noble Master Punarvasu.” Tr
 [C. p. 140 ; RI. 16 (Pl. LV). H. No. 114. L. No. 831.] N
- *16. Gagamitasa suci dānaṃ. BT (67)
 “The rail-gift of Gargamitra.” Tr
 [C. p. 140 ; RI. 17 (Pl. LV). L. No. 832. *Gaga* ≡ *Gaṅga* ?] N
- *17. Kanhilasa Bhānakasa dānaṃ. BT (68)
 “The gift of Kṛṣṇala, the Reciter.” Tr
 [C. p. 140 ; RI. 18 (Pl. LV). L. No. 833.] N
- (c) S. W. 18. Devarakhitasa dānaṃ. BT (69)
 quadrant—continued. “The gift of Devarakṣita.” Tr
 [C. p. 140 ; RI. 19 (Pl. LV). H. No. 115. L. No. 834.] N
19. Vedisāto Bhutarakhitasa dānaṃ. BT (70)
 “The gift of Bhūtarakṣita from Vidiśā.” Tr
 [C. p. 140 ; RI. 20 (Pl. LV)—reads *Vedisa tabhu*°. H. No. 116. L. No. 835.] N

20. Golāyā Pārikiniyā dānaṃ. BT
 Golāyā Pārikiniyā dānaṃ. CT (71)
 "The gift of Pārikini (Pārikā) from Golā." Tr

[C. p. 140 ; RI. 21 (Pl. LV), L. No. 836.] N

21. Purikayā Idadevāya dānaṃ. BT
 Purikāya Imdadevāya dānaṃ. CT (72)
 "The gift of Indradevī, a lady from Purikā." Tr

[C. p. 140 ; RI. 22 (Pl. LV), H. No. 117, L. N. 837.] N

22. Purikāyā Setaka-mātu dānaṃ. BT
 Purikāya Setaka-mātu dānaṃ. CT (73)
 "The gift of the mother of 'Setaka' from Purikā." Tr

[C. p. 140 ; RI. 23 (Pl. LVI), H. No. 118, L. No. 838. *Setaka* = *Śreṣṭhaka* (H I). Accepting this equation, the name may be taken to mean a dignitary, a man of substance, or a banker, it being = Bengali *Śeṭ* or *Śeṭh*. But it also might be equated with the Pāli *Setaku* or *Sk. Śvetaka*.] N

23. Purikāyā Sāmāya dānaṃ. BT
 Purikāya Sāmāya dānaṃ. CT (74)
 "The gift of Śyāmā from Purikā." Tr

[C. p. 140 ; RI. 24 (Pl. LVI), H. No. 119, L. No. 839.] N

24. Budharakhitāye dānaṃ bhichuniye. BT
 Budharakhitāya dānaṃ bhichuniyā. CT (75)
 "The gift of Buddharakṣitā, the nun." Tr

[C. p. 140 ; RI. 25 (Pl. LVI)—reads *bhikhuniya*. H. No. 120, L. No. 840.] N

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25. Bhutaye bhichuniye dānaṃ. BT
 Bhūtāya bhichuniyā dānaṃ. CT (76)
 "The gift of the nun Bhūtā." Tr

[C. p. 140; RI. 26 (Pl. LVI). H. No. 121. L. No. 841.] N

26. Aya-Apikinakasa dānaṃ. BT (77)
Cf. Bhayaṃta-Aṃpikinaka [Bhājā Buddhist Stūpa In-
 scription, L. No. 1081.]
 "The gift of the Noble Master Aprakīrṇa." Tr

[C. p. 140; RI. 27 (Pl. LVI). H. No. 122. L. No. 842.] N

27. Saṅghilasa dāna suci. BT
 Saṃghilasa dānaṃ suci. CT (78)
 "The gift of Saṅghila—a rail." Tr

[C. p. 140; RI. 28 (Pl. LVI). H. No. 123. L. No. 843. *Saṅghilaka* is mentioned in the Padmaprābhṛtaka as a Buddhist monk.¹ *Samghila*—a Buddhist monk in L. No. 321.] N

28. Saṅgharakhitasa mātāpituna aṭhāyā dānaṃ. BT
 Saṃgharakhitasa mātāpitunaṃ aṭhāya dānaṃ. CT (79)
 "The gift of Saṅgharakṣita for the sake of his parents." Tr

[C. p. 140; RI. 29 (Pl. LVI)—reads *mātāpituna athaye*. H. No. 124. L. No. 844. *Aṭhāya* is rendered on account of (C); for the benefit of (HL). *Saṅgharakhita* or *Samgharakhita* occurs as the name of several householder donors, two of whom were bankers. L. Nos. 444, 469, 482, 558, 844, 1068, 1073, 1075, 1218, 1250.] N

29. Dhutasa suci dāno. BT
 Dhūtasa suci dānaṃ. CT (80)
 "The rail-gift of Dhūta." Tr

[C. p. 140; RI. 30 (Pl. LVI). H. No. 125. L. No. 845. *Dhuta* = *Dhūta* (HL), which seems to be incorrect. The masculine form of *dāna* may be due to the mason's oversight.] N

¹ Mr. Ramakrishna Kavi : *Avantisundarī-kathā* of Daṇḍin (Proceedings and Transactions, Second Oriental Conference, p. 1970).

30. *Yakhilasa suci dāna[m]*. BT (81)
 The rail-gift of *Yakṣila*. Tr

[C. p. 140; RI. 31 (Pl. LVI). H. No. 126. L. No. 846 *Yakhila* occurs as the name of two *Bhikṣu* donors in L. Nos. 376 and 480. Are the two donors really one and the same person?] N

31. *Mitasa suci dānaṃ*. BT (82)
 "The rail-gift of *Mitra*." Tr

[C. p. 140; RI. 32 (Pl. LVI)—reads *Sihasa*. H. No. 127. L. No. 847. Cf. L. No. 1068.] N

32. *Isirakhitasa suci dānaṃ*. BT (83)
 "The rail-gift of *Ṛṣirakṣita*." Tr

[C. p. 141; RI. 33 (Pl. LVI). H. No. 128. L. No. 848. *Isirakhita* in L. Nos. 358, 404; a physician in L. No. 1048.] N

33. *Sirimasa dānaṃ*. BT (84)
 "The gift of *Śrīmat*."

[C. p. 141; RI. 34 (Pl. LVI). H. No. 129. L. No. 849.] N

34. *Bhadata-Devasenasa donaṃ*. BT
Bhadamta-Devasenasa dānaṃ. CT (85)
 "The gift of the Most Gentle *Devasena*." Tr

[C. p. 141; RI. 35 (Pl. LVI)—reads *dānaṃ*. H. No. 130—o of *donaṃ* probably represents a dimmed (*saṃvṛta*) pronunciation of a. L. No. 850. Cf. *Devasena*—a brother of *Sivasena* and *Sivadeva* in the *Mathurā* Jaina Inscription. L. No. 119.] N

35. ...kaya bhichuniya dānaṃ. BT (C)
 ...kāya bhichuniyā dānaṃ. CT (86)
 "The gift of the nun [whose name is effaced except the last syllable]kā." Tr

[C. p. 141; RI. 36 (Pl. LVI). H. No. 131. L. No. 851.] N

36. Nadinagarikaya Idadevāya dānam. BT
 Naṃdinagarikāya Imdadevāya dānam. CT (87)
 “The gift of Indradevi, a lady from Nandinagara.” Tr

[C. p. 141; RI. 37 (Pl. LVI). H. No. 132. L. No. 852. Cf. *Nadinagarikā* in L. Nos. 327, 383, 402, 536, 538, 604; *Nadinagarika* in L. Nos. 325, 369; *Naṃdinagarikā* in L. No. 305; *Naṃdinagaraka* in L. No. 502; *Naṃdinagara*, *Nadinagara* in L. Nos. 176, 328, 463-466, 512, 562.] N

37. Gosālasa mata (?) Gosālasa dānam. BT (88)
 “The gift of Gośāla.” Tr

[C. p. 141; RI. 38 (Pl. LVI)—reads *Gopālasamata* (?); observes that the inscription is engraved twice on the same rail: first in thin and somewhat cursive letters, and second in thicker letters, as if the first record had been faulty or disapproved. C. also suggests that the inscription might be read as the ‘gift of *Gośāla*, the mother of *Gopāla*. This suggestion has nothing but ingenuity to commend itself. It is apparent that here we have an instance of the engraver correcting his own oversight or attempting to make the label more legible. L. No. 853.] N

38. Kacula ?.....bhariyāya dānam. BT (89)
 “The gift of a female donor, the wife [of some gentleman whose name is] Kañcula.” Tr

[C. p. 141; RI. 39 (Pl. LVI)—takes *Kacula* to be the name of the donor's husband. L. No. 854.] N

39. Jeṭhabhadrassa dānam. BT (90)
 “The gift of Jyeṣṭhabhadra.” Tr

[C. p. 141; RI. 40 (Pl. LVI)—reads *Jeṭabhara*. H. No. 133 L. No. 855.] N

40. Aya-Jātasa peṭakino suci dānam. BT (91)

“The rail-gift of the Noble Master Jāta, the Peṭakin, master
in the Piṭaka.” Tr

[C. p. 141; RI. 41 (Pl. LVI)—reads *jata sepeṭakino*. II. No. 134. L. No. 858. The epithet *Peṭakī* is derived from *Piṭaka* or *Peṭaka*, and means as Prof. Rhys Davids suggests, one who knows the *Piṭaka* by heart (Buddhist India, p. 167). *Piṭaka* or *Peṭaka* is a Buddhist technical expression signifying a definite literary redaction of Buddhist doctrine considered as closed, i.e., the Buddhist Canon. The *Piṭaka* is, according to Prof. Rhys Davids the traditional statements of Buddhist doctrine as contained in the *Sutta-Piṭaka*. This is not necessarily so. Let us take, for instance, the expression *Peṭakōpadesa* used as the title of an exegetical treatise on the general teachings in the *Piṭaka* or *Piṭaka* literature. The Canonical passages and verses quoted therein can be mostly traced now in the books of *Sutta* and *Abhidhamma Piṭakas*. The *Peṭakōpadesa* expressly quotes passages from the *Ekuttaraka* (the *Ekuttara* or *Anguttara Āgama* or *Nikāya*) and the *Samyuttaka* (the *Samyutta Āgama* or *Nikāya*). The *Peṭaka* of the *Peṭakōpadesa* may either mean something of the *Peṭaka* or something relating to the *Piṭaka* in a collective sense. *Peṭiṭaka* or *lipiṭaka* or *Piṭakattaya* is the commonest expression in Buddhist literature. The *Peṭakōpadesa*, be it remembered, contains, like its companion-work, the *Netti-Pakarāṇa*, a treatment of the scientific method of exegetical exposition of Buddha's doctrine in its two-fold aspect—the textual and the doctrinal, the formal and the material. The term *Piṭaka* seems to have been derived from the common parlance in which it meant a basket for carrying earth (*mulikā-bhājana*), cf. *kuddālapiṭakam*, spade and basket.¹ Its alternative form *Peṭaka* corresponds to *peṭaka*, *peṭikā* or Bengali *peṭā*, meaning some kind of a box or case (*mañjusā*). In the Buddhist technical sense, too, the term *Piṭaka* or *Peṭaka* is taken metaphorically to mean *pariyatti-bhājana* or *pariyatti-mañjusā*, with this difference however that here it stands for both the container and the contained.² The suggested metaphors are quite appropriate from the Buddhist theological point of view, according to which Buddhist doctrines or traditions as rehearsed, collected and fixed at the First Council, were transmitted (*ābhuta*) or orally handed down (*mukhapāṭhavasena*), from teacher to teacher,³ just in the same way that dug up earth is carried

¹ *Atthasālinī*, p. 20. Cf. *Kodāl-peurgā* or *peurgā-kodāl* of the Chittagong dialect.

² *Atthasālinī*, p. 20.

³ *Ibid*, p. 32: *Kenābhataṇ ti? Ācariya-paramparāya*.

in baskets from head to head till it is deposited and protected in the shape of a mound. It stands to reason to say that *Piṭaka* as a technical term is used exclusively by the Buddhists, but one must repudiate the suggestion that it was applied by them to denote only a part of their literature, namely, the Canonical. The Buddha himself as well as some of his immediate disciples are said to have used it with reference to the Vedic texts and traditions,¹ orally handed down in different schools, with the prevailing belief, 'so these were' 'so these were' (*anussavena itīha-itīha-paramparāya piṭaka-sampadāya*).²] N

41. Budharakhitasa rupakāra kasa dānam. BT (92)

"The gift of Buddharakṣita, the sculptor." Tr.

[C. p. 141; RI. 42 (Pl. LVI)—reads *Buddha*. H. No. 135. L. No. 857. *Budharakkhita*, a householder donor in L. Nos. 487, 578, 636, 1106, 1169, 1241, 1271; a Buddhist monk in L. Nos. 126, 304, 488, 591, 638, 792, 1168, 1224, 1250, 1280. *Rūpakāra* literally means a figure-maker, figure-cutter or engraver. As Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar has shown, *rūpa* also may mean a token coin. If so, *rūpakāraka* may be taken also to mean a jeweller, whose business is to make ornaments and strike coins, i.e., a jeweller and a minter. In L. No. 53 we have mention of *lohikakāraka* and in L. No. 54 we have *lohikakārīka* in the sense of a smith or worker in metal.] N

42. Bhadata-Samikasa Therākūṭiyasa dānam. BT (93)

"The gift of the Most Gentle Śamika, of Sthavirakūṭa (or Sthavira-kuṭi)." Tr

[C. p. 141; RI. 43 (Pl. LVI)—reads *Mikasatha*. H. No. 136—equates *Samika* with *Syānaka* and counts *Samika* and *Therākūṭa* as names of two donors. L. No. 858—*Therākūṭiya*—inhabitant of *Sthavirakūṭa*. Cf. *Samika*—a householder donor in L. Nos. 244, 280, 532, 995; a monk donor in L. No. 531.] N

^{1, 2} Majjhima-Nikāya, II. Caṅki-Sutta: *mantapadaṃ*: "Manta yeva mantapadaṃ vedoti attho: ittha-ittha-paramparāyāti evaṃ kira, evaṃkird'ti paramparabhāvena āgataṃti. P itāka-sampadāyāti vacanasāṅkhātasampattiyaṃ sāvitti-ādīhi chandabandhehi pavattabandhehi sampādetvā āgataṃti (Papañca-sūdanī, Siamese Ed.) In the Sandaka-Sutta (Majjhima, p. 520). Ānanda repudiates by these expressions the traditional method of a Vedic teacher (*anussavika*).

43. Sirisapada-Isirakhitāya dānaṃ. BT (94)
 "The gift of Ṛṣirakṣitā from Śrīśapada." Tr

[C. p. 141 ; RI. 44 (Pl. LVI). H. No. 137—says that a village called *Śrīṣapadraka* is mentioned in two Gurjara inscriptions IA. Vol. XIII, pp. 82, 88. L. No. 859. For *Isirakhita* see L. No. 295. *Sirisa* may be equated with *Śrīśa*, cf. *Sirisavatthu* (*Śrīśavāstu*), a *Yakkhanagara* in *Jātaka* No. 186.] N

44. Moragirimā Ghāṭila-matu dānaṃ. BT
 Moragirimhā Ghāṭila-mātu dānaṃ. CT (95)
 "The gift of Ghāṭila's mother from Mayūragiri." Tr

[C. p. 141 ; RI. 45 (Pl. LVI)—reads °*mata*. H. No. 138—regards *Moragirimā* either as a clerical mistake for *Moragirimhā* or as an assimilated form *Moragirimma*, cf. *vañcitammi*=*vañcitasmi* (F. I. p. 428). L. No. 860.] N

45. Atanatasa Bhojakataṅkasa suci dānaṃ. BT
 Aṃtānaṃtasa Bhojakataṅkasa sūci dānaṃ. CT (96)
 "The rail-gift of Antānanta of Bhojakata." Tr

[C. p. 141 ; RI. 46 (Pl. LVI)—reads *Atankha*° L. No. 861—suggests *Atanta*°.] N

46. Samidatāya dānaṃ. BT (97)
 "The gift of Śamīdattā." Tr

[C. p. 141 ; RI. 47 (Pl. LVI) H. No. 139. L. No. 862. *Samida'a* or *Sāmidata*—a goldsmith in L. No. 986 ; a Buddhist monk in L. Nos. 298, 535. *Samidatā* also may be = *Svāmidattā*.] N

47. Culanasa dānaṃ. BT (98)
 "The gift of Cullana (or Kullana)." Tr

[C. p. 141 ; RI. 48 (Pl. LVI). H. No. 140—*Culana* is derived from *culla*, Sk. *kṣudra*. L. No. 863.] N

- 48-49. Avisanasa dānaṃ. Avisanasa dānaṃ. BT (99)
 “The gift of Avisaṇṇa.” “The gift of Avisaṇṇa.” Tr.

[C. p. 141 ; RI. 49-50 (Pl. LVI). H. Nos. 141-142 L. Nos. 464-465. Cf. *Avisana* can be regarded as a misreading of *Avisina*, it can be Sanskritised *Aviśīrṇa*. Cf. *Avisana* in L. Nos. 319 and 351.] N

50. Sa(m)ghamitasa Bodhicakasa dānaṃ. BT (100)
 “Gift of Sangha Mitra of Bodhi Cakra.” C
 “The gift of Bodhicakra by Saṅghamitra.” H.
 “Gift of a wheel of enlightenment (bodhicaka by
 Saṅghamita (Saṅghamitra).” L
 “The gift of Sanghamitra, the Bodhicaka—the bearer
 of Bodhicakra—the symbol of enlightenment.” BS

[C. p. 141 ; RI. 51 (Pl. LVI)—says that there may have been a *Bodhi Cakra* as well as a *Dharma Cakra*. H. No. 143. L. No. 866. Judging by the general grammatical construction of the Votive Labels one cannot but take *Bodhicaka* as an epithet used in apposition with *Saṅghamitā*. The precise significance of the epithet is not quite clear. It would have been interesting if it could be shown that *Bodhicaka*, as suggested by C, is used in contradistinction to *Dharmacaka*. In that case, one might conjecture that at the time of the construction of the Barhut railing, there were two distinct symbols in use among the Buddhists : one, namely, the *Bodhicakra*, characterising a tendency towards the ideal of Buddhahood, and the other, namely, the *Dharmacakra*, characterising the tendency towards the ideal of Discipleship. The rendering given by H and L is highly suggestive and can commend itself to our ready acceptance provided that it can be shown that the label is attached to an actual symbolical representation of *Bodhi* on the Barhut railing. It is not unlikely that *Bodhicakra*, like *Ekacakra* in the Pauranic list of places, is the name of a locality.] N

51. Budharakhitasa Pa[m]ca-nekāyikasa dānaṃ. BT (101)
 “The gift of Buddharaṣita the Pañcanaikāyika—who
 is versed in the Five Nikāyas.” Tr

[C. p. 141 ; RI. 52 (Pl. LVI)—reads *Bodhirakhitasa*. H. No. 144 L. No. 867. *Budharakhita*—a *Sutaṃtika* (*Sautrāntika*) in the Sanchi

Buddhist Stūpa II. inscription I. No. 635. *Paṃcaṇekāyika*—an epithet of the monk *Devagiri* in the Sanchi Stūpa I. Inscription I. No. 299. *Paṃcaṇekāyika* or *Pañcanaikāyika* is derived from *Pañcanikāya*, and means one who is conversant with, i.e., knows by heart the Five Nikāyas (Buddhist India, p. 167). *Pañcanikāya* occurs in the Vinaya Cullavagga¹ as a collective designation for one of the two divisions of the Buddhist Canon therein recognised, the other division being represented by '*Ubbaho-Vinaya*.' The Milinda quotes passages from the books of the *Sutta-Piṭaka* bearing such titles as *Dīgha-Nikāya*, *Majjhima-Nikāya*, *Saṃyutta-Nikāya*, and the rest. In Buddhaghosa's commentaries,² on the other hand, the expression signifies not only the five well-known collections of Buddha's discourses or dialogues enumerated as five classical divisions of the books of *Sutta-Piṭaka* but also a general fivefold division of the entire Buddhist Canon, the *Khuddaka-Nikāya* including, over and above the usual 12 or 15 Sutta books, all the books composing the *Finaya* or the *Abhidhamma Piṭaka*. Curiously enough, except in the sense of a sect, school or denomination, the term *Nikāya* is not found in use among all the Buddhists. From this one may be naturally led to suppose that *Nikāya* in the sense of a Canonical division is a technical term exclusively used by a particular Buddhist sect or school, namely, the *Theravāda* or *Sthavira*. The expression found in the literature of other sects and schools corresponding to Pāli *Nikāya*, such as that in the Divyāvadāna—a *Sarvastivāda* work, is *Āgama*.³ Even in the Pāli discourses ascribed to the Buddha himself, the expression *Āgama* is often met with, no doubt in the sense of a floating body of Buddhist literary traditions, either with their twofold division *Dharma* and *Vinaya*, or with their triple division *Sutta*, *Vinaya* and *Mālikā*.⁴ Whatever the later Buddhist explanations of these expressions, they seem to have been manipulated with the express object of indicating a traditional character of the original body of Buddha's doctrine.⁵ Thus one need not be surprised that in the Dīpavaṃsa account of the proceedings of the First Buddhist Council the *Dhammasaṅgaha* is otherwise called *Āgama-Piṭaka*. What is the special significance of *Nikāya* applied as a designation for a Canonical division? Buddhaghosa says that *Nikāya* in its ordinary usage

¹ Cullavagga, Vinaya-Piṭaka, II, p. 287.

² Samanta-Pāsādikā, Ceylonese Ed., p. 8; Atthasālinī, pp. 17-18; Sumaṅgala-Vilāsinī, Siamese Ed., I, pp. 20-23.

³ Divyāvadāna at p. 33 recognises only four Āgamas, viz. *Dīrgha*, *Madhyaṃga*, *Saṃyukta* and *Ekōttara*. Cf. Mahāvaṃsa expression *calavikāyika*.

⁴ Cf. *Bahussutā*, *Āgataṅgā*, *Dhammadharā*, *Vinayudharā*, *Mātikūdhara*.

⁵ Sumaṅgala-Vilāsinī, II, Siamese Ed., pp. 216 f.

means *samūha* and *nivāsa*, and that in this respect there is no difference between its common and technical sense. For instance, the *Dīgha-Nikāya* means the group, aggregate, set or receptacle of the long discourses.¹ In the earlier Jaina and Buddhist usages, *Nikāya* appears to have been used as a biological expression, meaning a particular class, type or species of living beings, cf. *chajīva-nikāya*,² a technical term in use among the followers of Pārśvanātha, denoting six divisions of living beings, those possessed of one sense, those of two senses, and the rest. In the Ājīvika phraseology, the expression *cha-jīva-nikāya* was replaced by *chalābhijāti*³ or *ṣaṭīnavarṇā*⁴ and in the Jaina phraseology by *cha-lesiyā*, meaning the living beings of six mental types. In Buddha's discourses⁵ and in Pāṇini's Sūtras,⁶ the term *Nikāya* has a similar biological significance. According to Buddha, a *jāti* or *nikāya* denotes a self-contained class of beings, two *jāti*s being mutually exclusive (*aññamaññāhi jātiyo*).⁷ One must understand that when *Nikāya* came to be applied by the Buddhists to their Canonical books and divisions, they intended to signify that Buddha's doctrine was no longer in a fluid condition, but assumed definite shape and character, each division of it having an independent position of its own in the whole body of literature.] N

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52. Isirakhitasa suci dānaṃ.

BT (102)

"The rail-gift of Ṛṣirakṣita."

Tr

[* da°(BT). C. p. 142 ; RI. 53 (Pl. LVI). H. No. 145. L. No. 868.] N

53. Dhanabhūtisa rājano putasa kumārassa Vādhapālassa
[dānaṃ].

BT

Dhanabhūtino rājāno putasa kumārassa Vādhapālassa
dānaṃ.

CT (103)

¹ Atthasālinī, p. 25 : "Dīghappamāṇānaṃ suttānaṃ samūhato nivāsato ca, samūha-nivāsa hi nikāyo ti vuccati."

² Āyāraṃga-Sutta, P. T. S. II. 15. 16.

³ Dīgha-Nikāya, I. p. 53 ; Aṅguttara, III. pp. 383-384 ; Sumaṅgala-Vilāsinī, I. p. 162.

⁴ Mahābhārata XII. 279. 32.

⁵ Saṃyutta III. 152 : "Nāhaṃ bhikkhave aññaṃ ekanikāyaṃ pi samanupassāmi, raṃ cittaṃ yathā yulāṃ tiracchānagatā pāṇā."

⁶ Kāśīka on Pāṇini III. 3, Atthasālinī, p. 25, Paramatthajotikā, I, p. 12.

⁷ Sutta-Nipāta, V. 601 Cf. Aśoka use of *nikāya*.

“The gift of Prince ‘Vādhapāla’ (Vṛddhapāla), the son of
King Dhanabhūti.” Tr

[C. p. 142; RI. 54 (Pl. LVI). L. No. 869. The reading of the label is based upon C. H and L are inclined to equate *Vādhapāla* with *Vyādhapāla*. As for *vādha*=*vṛddha*, cf. *vādharaṇja* in Hāthigumphā inscription L. No. 134] N

54. Phagudevāye bhichuniye dānaṃ. BT
Phagudevāya bhichuniyā dānaṃ. CT (104)
“The gift of the nun Phalgudevī.” Tr

[C. p. 142; RI. 55 (Pl. LVI). H. No. 146. L. No. 870.] N

55. Koḍāya Yakhiyā dānaṃ BT (105)
“The gift of Yakṣi from Kuṇḍa” (?) Tr

[C. p. 142; RI. 56 (Pl. LVI). H. No. 147. L. No. Koḍā=Kroḍā (HL).] N

56. Ghosāye dānaṃ. BT
Ghosāya dānaṃ. CT (106)
“The gift of Ghosā.” Tr

[C. p. 142; RI. 57 (Pl. LVI). H. No. 872. L. No. 148.] N

57. Yamitasa sa..... BT
Yamitasa suci dānaṃ. CT (107)
Yamīdasa suci dānaṃ. CT (107)
“The rail-gift of Yamila.” Tr
“The rail-gift of Yamendra.” Tr

[C. p. 142; RI. 58 (Pl. LVI)—reads *Yamīdasa*. L. No. 873.] N

58. Seriyāputasa Bharanidevasa dānaṃ. BT (108)
 “The gift of Bharanideva, from Śrīputra.” Tr

[* Bhāra (BT) C. p. 142 ; RI. 59 (Pl. LVI)—reads *Bharini*. H. No. 149—reads *Seriya*, I. No. 874. *Seriyāputa* may be taken here also to denote a place, cf. *Pālāliputta*, *Kesaputta*, *Satiyaputa*, *Keralaputa*.] N

59. Mitadevāye dānaṃ. BT
 Mitadevāya dānaṃ. CT (109)
 “The gift of Mitradevi.” Tr

[C. p. 142 ; RI. 60 (Pl. LVI)—reads *devaya*. H. No. 150 L. No. 875.] N

60. Paḍelakasa Pusakasa suci dānaṃ. BT (110)
 “The rail-gift of Puṣyaka, the Paḍelaka, the man of Pāṇḍya.” (?) Tr

[C. p. 142 ; RI. 61 (Pl. LVI). L. No. 876.] N

61. Asitamasāya Valamitasa dānaṃ. BT (111)
 “The gift of Valamitra from Asitamasā.” Tr

[C. p. 142 ; RI. 62 (Pl. LVI)—says that *Asitamasā* may be a place on the bank of the *Tamasā* or *Tons* river, within two miles of Barhut ; or taking *Asita* as a proper name of the town might be construed as *Asita-masa*. L. No. 877.] N

62. [Pa]rakaṭikaya Sirimaya dānaṃ. BT
 Parakaṭikāya Sirimāya dānaṃ. CT (112)
 “The gift of Śrīmā from Parākata.” (?) Tr

[C. p. 142 ; RI. 63 (Pl. LVI). L. No. 878.] N

63. Vijitakasa suci dānaṃ. BT (113)
 “The rail-gift of Vijita.” Tr

[C. p. 142 ; RI. 64 (Pl. LVI). L. No. 878.] N

64.sa dānaṃ. BT (114)
 “The gift of [a donor whose name is effaced.]” Tr

[C. p. 142 ; RI. 65 (Pl. LVI). L. No. 880.] N

65.kasa raño bhayaye Nāgarakhitāye dānaṃ. BT
 [Dhanabhū]tisa raño bhāriyāya Nāgarakhitāya
 dānaṃ (?) CT (115)
 “The gift of Nāgarakṣitā, the wife of King
 Dhanabhūti.” (?) Tr

[C. Pl. LVI. 67. H. read *tisa* IA. XXI, p. 225. L. No. 882.] N

66. Bo[dhigu]tasa dānaṃ. BT (116)
 “The gift of Bodhigupta.” Tr

[H. No. 74. Rail 8 (Pl. XXXVIII. 3). L. No. 883.] N

67.Himavate i..... BT (117)

[H. No. 75. Rail 12 (Pl. XXIV. 3). L. No. 884. It is doubtful whether this inscription is a Votive or a Jātaka label.] N

1. Aya-Nāgadevasa dānaṃ. BT (118)
 “The gift of the Noble Master Nāgadeva.” Tr

4. Votive
Labels on
Copings
[uṇṇiṇas]
No. I and
VIII.

[C. p. 151 ; CI. 1 (Pl. LIII). H. No. 2. L. No. 690.] N

2. Karahakata-nigamasa dānaṃ. BT (119)
 “The gift of the town of Karahakata.” Tr

[C. p. 131; CI. 16 (Pl. LIII. 16). H. No. 16. L. No. 705. This is the second Votive label to be found engraved on a coping-stone (Coping VIII) of the existing Barhut railing. It lends itself to a two-fold interpretation according as the word *nigama* is taken either in the sense of a town or in that of a trader. Taking it in the former sense, the label must be construed as implying that the gift referred to was made jointly by the citizens of *Karahakata*, *nigama* standing for *naigama*. Taking it in the latter sense, the label must be construed to mean that the gift was that of an individual donor who was a trader in the town of *Karahakata*, *nigama* standing for the Pāli *negama* or the Sk. *naigama*. The controversy does not end here. One has got to decide whether the copings surmounting the entire railing were the gift of an individual trader donor or that of the whole population of *Karahakata*, identified by Hultzsch with modern *Karhāt* in the *Sattārū* district.¹ It appears that the copings were superadded to the railing woven of pillars and rail-bars and intersected by the gateways; the symmetry of their joinings and carvings goes to indicate that these were designed by the single artist. The tradition of symmetry thus associated with the copings with their costly ornamental designs of continuous scroll-work and bas-reliefs might be carried to a further point, if it could be established that as these were the designs of one artist, so these were the gift of one donor. But in view of other weighty considerations, stated below, this must be tabooed as a mere intelligent suggestion. From the occurrence of such expressions in some of the Votive labels as *thabho dānaṃ* (gift of a pillar) and *suci-dānaṃ* (gift of a rail-bar), it follows that almost every pillar or every individual rail-bar was the gift of an individual donor. Even there are indications to prove that almost every Jātaka-scene or group of Jātaka-scenes was sculptured on the strength of an individual donation. If so, it would seem improbable that the whole series of copings with all their ornamental paraphernalia was the gift of a single donor, however rich he might be. If the label were meant to record the gift of an individual donor, it would have, as in other cases, recorded the personal name of the donor along with his professional designation. This being not the case, one must be inclined to conclude that the label was really meant to perpetuate the memory of the whole body of citizens.] N

¹ The expression *Karahākaḍḍaka*, a resident of *Karahākaḍḍa*, occurs in *Kudā* inscription No. 18 (Lüders No. 1055); *Karahākaḍḍa* or *Karahākaḍḍa* is probably identical with *Karahāṭṭaka* in a *Rāshṭrakūṭa* inscription of Śaka 675 (I. A. XI, p. 110).

1. Vedisa Vāsiṭhiya Velimi BT
 Vedisā Vāsiṭhiyā Velimi[ta-bhāriyāya dānaṃ.] FT (120)
 “The gift of Vāsiṭhi, the wife of Veṇimitra,
 from Vidiśā.” Tr

[C. p. 143; FI. 1 (Pl. LVI). L. No. 885—prefers to read *Velimitāya*, of Vellimitrā. It is quite possible that there was some additional word like *thabho* or *suci* before or after *dānaṃ*, cf. Pl. 1.] N

2. Aya-Naṃda BT
 Aya-Naṃda[sa dānaṃ] (?) FT (121)
 “The gift of the Noble Master Nanda.” Tr

[C. p. 143; FI. 2 (Pl. LVI). L. No. 886. There may as well have been a feminine form *Aya-Naṃdāya*, of Āryā-Nandā.] N

3. Avāsikā BT
 Āvāsikā[ya bhikkuniyā dānaṃ] (?) FT (122)
 “The gift of a nun of the local monastic abode” (?) Tr

[C. p. 143; FI. 4 (Pl. LVI). L. No. 887. *Avāsika* is the name of a donor in L. No. 619. The expression *āvāsika-bhikkhu* means a resident monk, one staying at his own monastery (Childers, *sub voce* *Āvāsika*). If the first rendering of *āvāsika* be accepted, the label may be cited to prove that the female donor was a Buddhist nun of the local monastery.] N

4. Mahada(?) BT
 Mahād[evasa dānaṃ] (?) FT (123)
 “The gift of Mahādeva” (?) Tr

[C. p. 143; FI. 5 (Pl. LVI)—reads *Mahada*. L. 888. One cannot be sure whether this inscription is a Votive or a Jātaka label.] N

5. Cadā BT
 Ca[m]dā[ya dānaṃ.] FT (124)
 “The gift of Candrā” (?) Tr

[C. p. 143 ; FI. 6 (Pl. LVI). L. No. 889.] N

6. Satika BT
 Saṃtika[sa dānaṃ] (?) FT (125)
 “The gift of Śāntika” (?) Tr

[C. p. 143 ; FI. 7 (Pl. LVI). L. No. 890.] N

7. ra(?)katayāyā... BT
 [Kara]hakaṭikāya[dānaṃ] (?) FT (126)
 “The gift of a female donor from Karahakata” (?) Tr

[C. p. 143 ; FI. 8 (Pl. LVI). L. 891.] N

8. ... ʔ tu rajana adhirajaka.? yata ? BT (127)
 No sense can be made out. Perhaps the label records a gift made by or work done under the auspices of a sovereign ruler.

[C. p. 143 ; FI. 9 (Pl. LVI)—reads *rajane*. L. No. 892.] N

9. ... tarasa... BT
 ...tarasa[dānaṃ] (?) FT (128)
 “The gift of [a donor whose name is missing except last two syllables] *tara*.” Tr

[C. p. 143 ; FI. 10 (Pl. LVI). L. No. 893.] N

10. ... yasini sayāni... BT
 ... yasinisa yāni[kasa dānaṃ] (?) FT (129)
 “The gift of Yānika [the inhabitant of a place,
 the name of which is missing except the last
 three syllables] *yasini*.” (?) Tr

[C. p. 143 ; FI. 11 (Pl. LVI). L. No. 894.] N

11. [Saṃ]ghami[tasa dānaṃ] (?) BT (130)
 “The gift of Saṅghamitra.” Tr

[C. p. 143 ; FI. 12 (Pl. LVI). L. No. 895.] N

12. sākusu..... BT (131)
 No sense can be made out.

[C. p. 143 ; FI. 13 (Pl. LVI)—reads *sakusu*. L. No. 196.] N

13. Naṃdagirino dā[naṃ]. BT (132)
 “The gift of Nandagiri.” Tr

[C. p. 143 ; FI. 14 (Pl. LVI). L. No. 898. Cf. Naṃdigiri in L. No. 372.] N

14. ... yāya dānaṃ. BT (133)
 “The gift of some female donor.” Tr

[C. p. 143 ; FI. 16 (Pl. LVI)—reads *yāyā*. L. No. 800. The fragment might also be connected with FI. 1 completing it thus :

Vediśā Vāsiṭhiyā Velimi[ta-bhāri]yāya dānaṃ.] N

15. Koladalākiyeyo dana.

BT

Koladalākiyāya dānaṃ.

CT (134)

“The gift of Koladalākhyā (?)

Tr

[C's eye-copy, Pl. LVI. Frag. 20. One may be tempted to equate *Koladalāki* with *Kuladārikā*.] N



SECTION II

JĀTAKA-LABELS

*Relating to Bas-reliefs illustrating episodes of the Buddhas
and Bodhisattvas in inculcation of the Mahāpadāna
Doctrine of Buddhōtpāda-Dharmatā.*

1. Bhagavato Vipasino Bodhi. BT
Bhagavato Vipasino Bodhi [Pāṭali]. FT (135)

A. Attached
to Bas-reliefs
illustrating
the episodes
of seven
Buddhas—
Vipaścī to
Gautama.

Cf. Vipassī bhagavā Pāṭaliyā mūle abhisambuddho [Mahāpadāna-Suttanta, Dīgha II].

Vipassissa bhagavato Pāṭali-rukkho Bodhi [Jātaka-Nidāna-Kathā, F. Vol. I, p. 41].

Vipaśyino bhagavata.....[Dīvyāvadāna, p. 333].

Vipaśyine.....buddhāya [Mahāvastu I, p. 2].

“[Pāṭali, Trumpet-Flower or *Bignonia Suaveolens*—] the
Bodhi-tree of the Divine Master Vipaścī.” Tr

{C. pp. 113, 137; Pl. 68 (Pls. XXX. 1, LIV. 68). H. No. 81. L. No. 779 }

2. [Bhagavato Sikhino Bodhi].¹ BT
Bhagavato Sikhino Bodhi Puṇḍarīko.² FT (136)
“[Puṇḍarīka, White-Mango or *Magnifera Indica*—]
the Bodhi-tree of the Divine Master Śikhī.” Tr

Cf. Sikhī bhagavā Puṇḍarīkassa mūle abhisambuddho [Dīgha II].

Sikhissa bhagavato Puṇḍarīka-rukkho Bodhi [F. Vol. 1. p. 41].

Śikhino ³ bhagavato...[Dīvyāvadāna, p. 333].

¹ Supplied by us.

² The Barhut spelling would be *Puṇḍarīko*.

³ The name of *Śikhī* is not to be found in the list of the last Buddhas—*Vipaśyī* to *Śākyamuni Gautama* at p. 295 in the *Mahāvastu*.

3. Bhagavato Vesabhuno Bodhi Sālo. BT (137)

Cf. Vessabhū bhagavā Sālassa mūle abhisambuddho [Dīgha II].

Vessabhussa bhagavato Sāla-rukkho Bodhi [F. Vol. I, p. 42].

Viśvabhuvah bhagavato... [Divyāvadāna, p. 333].

Bhagavato Viśvabhuvah.....¹

“[Sāla or *Shorea Robusta*—] the Bodhi-tree of the Divine
Master Viśvabhrt.” Tr

{C. pp. 113, 132; Pl. 3 (Pls. XXIX. 2; LIV. 3.) H. No. 24. L.
No. 714.}

4. Bhagavato Kakusadhasa Bodhi. BT
Bhagavato Kakusaṃdhasa Bodhi [Siriso]. FT (138)

Cf. Kakusandho bhagavā Sirisassa mūle abhisambuddho [Dīgha II].

Kakusandhassa bhagavato mahā-Sirisa-rukkho Bodhi [F. Vol. I, p. 41].

Krakucchandasya bhagavato..... [Divyāvadāna, p. 333].

Bhagavato Krakucchandasya..... [Mahāvastu I, p. 318].

Krakutsaṃdāya buddhāya... [Ibid, I, p. 2].

“[Sirīsa or *Acacia*—] the Bodhi-tree of the Divine Master
Kakutsandha.” Tr

{C. pp. 114, 137; Pl. 72 (Pls. XXIX. 3, LIV. 72). H. No. 84. L.
No. 783.}

5. Bhagavato Koṇāgamenasa Bodhi. BT
Bhagavato Koṇāgamanasa Bodhi [Udumbaro] FT (139)

Cf. Koṇāgamanasa bhagavā Udumbarassa mūle abhisambuddho
[Dīgha II].

Koṇāgamanassa bhagavato Udumbara-rukkho Bodhi [F. Vol. I, p. 43].

Kanakamuneh bhagavato..... [Divyāvadāna, p. 333].

¹ Supplied in the manner of the Mahāvastu.

Bhāgavato Kanakamunisya.....[Mahāvastu I, p. 318].

Konākamuni [Mahāvastu II, p. 266].

Budhasa Konākamanasa [Aśoka's Nigāḥa Pillar Edict].

“[Udumbara or *Ficus Glomerata*—] the Bodhi-tree of the
Divine Master Koṇāgamana.” Tr

{C. pp. 132, 114; PI. 11 (Pls. XXIX. 4, LII. 11)—reads *Konigamenasa*.
H. No. 30, L. No. 722. *Konāgamenasa* appears to have a case of short
prakrit e for Sk. a (H).}

6. Bhagavato Kasapasa Bodhi. BT
Bhagavato Kāsapasa Bodhi [Nigodho]. FT (140)

Cf. Kassapo bhagavā Nigrodhassa mūle abhisambuddho [Dīgha II, p. 4].

Kassapassa bhagavato Nigrodha-rukkho Bodhi [P. Vol. I, p. 43].

Kāśyapasya bhagavato.....[Divyāvadāna, p. 333].

Bhagavato Kāśyapasya...[Mahāvastu I, p. 318].

“[Nyagrodha, the Banian or *Ficus Indica*—] the Bodhi-tree
of the Divine Master Kāśyapa.” Tr

{C. pp. 135, 114; PI. 49 (Pls. XXX. 1, LIV. 49)—also reads *Kāsa*.^o
H. No. 64, L. No. 760.}

7. Bhagavato Sākamunino Bodho. BT
Bhagavato Sākamunino Bodhi [Asatho].¹ FT (141)

Cf. Gotamo bhagavā Assatthassa mūle abhisambuddho [Dīgha II, p. 4].

Gotamassa bhagavato Assattha-rukkho Bodhi [P. Vol. I, pp. 15-16].

Śākyamuneḥ bhagavato.....²

Buddhasya Śākyamunino bhagavato...[Mahāvastu I, p. 48].

Budhe Sakyamuni...[Aśoka's Lumbini Pillar Edict].

“[Āśvattha, the Peepul or *Ficus Religiosa*—] the Bodhi-tree
of the Divine Master Śākyamuni.”

¹ Supplied in the manner of the Nidāna-kathā.

² Cf. *Maṅgalasya*.....*buddhasya Nāga-vṛkṣo abhūti Bodhi* (Mahāvastu I, p. 218).

³ Supplied in the manner of the Divyāvadāna.

{C. pp. 134, 114; Pl. 28 (Pls. XXX. 3, LIV. 28)—also reads *saka*.^o Ho. No. 11 H. No. 46, L. No. 739. *Bodho* is a mere synonym for *Bodhi* (Ho).}

[The origin of the word *bhaga* can be traced to an Indo-European root like *phagus*, meaning 'to eat.' 'to enjoy.' The words *bhāgya*, *bhaga*, *bhāgī*, *bhuginī*, *bhoga*, *bhūja*, *bhoja*, *bhakṣa*, *bhakṣya* and *bhakti* may, so far as this fundamental meaning is concerned, be taken as coming from the same root, their underlying idea being one of enjoyment and apportionment.¹ The Indo-Aryan *Bhaga* with its European counterparts *Begu* and the like is found to be the name of an old Aryan god, representing, no doubt, a distinct aspect of Godhead, *i.e.*, primarily God as the giver of food or things of enjoyment, and secondarily God as the ordainer and distributor of possession and prosperity. Thus one need not be surprised that in the R̥g-Vedic *Śraddhā*-hymn,² *Bhaga* has been represented as the embodiment of possession and prosperity. For the primitive man, no less than for the primitive in the man of to-day, food in the sense of satisfaction of the two cardinal appetites of animal life may be held to constitute the possession and prosperity. The possessor of this twofold satisfaction and the means thereof is in theory the *bhagavān* or *bhāgyavān*. The primitive idea of possession and prosperity has undergone modification by way of both elimination and supplementation—by emphasizing the finer and relegating the grosser elements to the background. But however sublimated the idea of *bhaga* or *bhāgya* may have been, the idea of possession and prosperity is always there. We come across the word *bhagavān* in the

¹ The *Mahāniddeśa* (pp. 142-143) and the *Paramatthajotikā* (I, pp. 107-109) contain the following dissertation on the word *bhagavā*. "The epithet *bhagavā* or *bhagavān* was bestowed on the Buddha neither by his parents nor by his other relations. It was acquired by him on his attainment of omniscience. *Bhagavā*—*bhagayutta*, one endowed with *bhaga*, which in its generally accepted sense means the sixfold supreme possession of *issariya*, *dhamma*, *yasa*, *siri*, *kāma*, and *payatana*. *Issariya* comprehends the idea of such qualities as *aṇimā*, and the rest. *Dhamma* means transcendental virtues. *Yasa* implies a pure fame of universal recognition. *Siri* connotes an all-round accomplishment. *Kāma* signifies all objects of desire or all desired objects. *Payatana* means the supreme effort to gain sovereignty over all. *Bhagavā*—*bhājī* or *bhattarā*, one who has a recourse to, *i.e.*, has the experience of, all things. *Bhagavā*—*bhūgī*, participator of all acquisitions. *Bhagavā*—*ribhattarā*, one who explains things by proper apportionment or method of analytical distinction. *Bhagavā*—*bhaggakārī*, the breaker or destroyer of all evils. *Bhagavā*—*garu*, the master who is superior to all. *Bhagavā*—*bhūgyavā*, the fortunate or blessed one. *Bhagavā*—*bhavantaga*, one who has gone beyond individual existence. *Bhagavā*—*subhāvitatta*, who has fully developed himself."

² R̥g-Veda X, 151: *Śraddhāṃ Bhagasya mūrdhvanī vacasā vedayāmasi*.

Indo-Aryan literature at a time when man became fully conscious of his dignity as man and of his potentiality to the extent of attaining Godhood and Divinity. The term became quite familiar by the time of the Buddha when the idea of material possession and prosperity began to be supplanted by that of ethical, intellectual and spiritual attainments. The Sk. *bhāgya* and *bhagna* are both in Pāli *bhagga*, allowing the Buddhists a room for displaying their ethical bias and interpreting *bhagarā* or *bhagavān* as meaning one who has broken the bonds of passion, hatred and delusion. The sense in which the word *bhagavān* is used in the labels shows again the predominance of the tangible manifestations of human greatness and goodness; that is to say, the meaning is quite consonant with the growing *Bhagavatism* of the day which invaded even the Buddhist system. Hōernle has very rightly suggested that the word *bodhi* referring apparently, in a physical sense, to the *Bodhi* or *Bo Tree* is inseparably associated with the idea of *bodha* or enlightenment. According to the definition suggested in the Mahāpadāna-Suttanta, a *Bo Tree* is one at the foot of or under which (*yassa mūle, yassa rukkhassa hetthā*) a *Buddha* or more accurately, a *Bodhi-sattva* becomes truly awakened or enlightened. "Trees there are many others. Of these, only those trees, at the foot of which the Buddhas penetrate *bodhi* in the sense of a knowledge of the Four Truths constituting the way, are called *Bodhi* or *Bo Tree*." ¹ *Samboḍhi* of Aśoka's Rock Edict (No. 8), like *bodhi* of Barhut labels, seems to imply a twofold meaning, with this difference, however, that in the former the physical meaning is over-shadowed by the spiritual, and what is more, the *Bo Tree* as denoted by *bodhi* of the Barhut labels stands as a symbol for the entire life and career of a Buddha.

The names of the last six or seven Buddhas which are found recorded in their genitive forms on the Barhut railing suggest a problem of some importance. The names of the six Buddhas and the supposed missing name of *Sikhi* are all phonetically akin to those in Pāli: *Vipasi* = *Vipassī*; *Sikhi* = *Sikkhi*; *Vesabhu* = *Vessabhū*; *Kakusandha* = *Kakusandhu*; *Konāgamena* = *Koṇḍgamana*; *Koṇḍgamana* = *Konākamana* (Aśoka's Niglitva Pillar Edict); *Kāsapa* = *Kissapa*; *Sākamuni* = *Sakyamuni*. These names are Sanskritised almost alike in the Divyāvadāna, the Lalita-Vistara and the Mahāvastu: *Vipaśyī*; *Sikkhi*; *Viśvabhū*; *Krakucchanda* (*Krakutsanda*, an alternative form in the Mahāvastu); *Kanakamuni*; *Kāśyapa*; *Śākyamuni* (*Sakyamuni* in Aśoka's Lumbini Pillar Edict, *Sākyamuni* or *Sakyamuni* in Pāli). Curiously enough, the genitive case-endings of the Barhut names seem to have

¹ Sumadgala-Vilāsinī, Siamese Ed., II, p. 13.

followed, upon the whole, a tradition other than Pāli: *Vīpasino* = Pāli *Vīpassiṇṇa*, *Divyā*, *Vipaṣṣiṇṇo*; [*Sikhino* = Pāli *Sikhissā*, *Divyā*, *Śikhino*]; *Vessabhūno* = Pāli *Vessabhūssa*, *Divyā* and *Mahāv.* *Vīśrabhuraḥ*; *Koṇāgame-nasa* = Pāli *Koṇāgamanaṇṇa*, *Divyā*, *Kanakamuneh*, *Mahāv.* *Kanakamunino*; *Sākamunino*—*Lalita-Vi.* and *Mahāv.* *Śākyamunino*.

The Pāli books preserve *ex-hypothesi* the tradition of the *Sthaviras*; the *Divyāvadāna* and the *Lalita-Vistara*, that of the *Sarvāstivādins*; the *Mahāvastu*, that of the *Mahāsāṅghikas*. The comparative study of Buddhas' names and their genitive forms enables one to think that the dialect or dialects in which the original Buddhist traditions were handed down bore phonetically a close resemblance to Pāli, and that the discrepancies arose and became more and more detectable from the time when the different Buddhist sects and schools tried in different parts of India to write in Sanskrit. The diversity of case-endings, *e.g.*, in the case of *Vipassi*, seems to have arisen from the fact that the Buddhists forgot it was derived from the Sanskrit *Vipaścit*, and was at the same time reluctant to equate it with *Vidassi*. A similar argument would lead one to hit upon *Viśvabhṛt* or *Vaiśyabhū* as the Sanskrit form behind *Vessabhū*. The designation *Sākamuni* seems to have been manipulated at a somewhat late stage of Buddhism, though it came into use, as evidenced by Aśokan inscriptions, as early as the 3rd century B. C. It would seem unfortunate that the epithet *muni*, which in its generally accepted sense was sought to be got rid of by the Buddha for its mystical associations,¹ came to be connected with his name. Mere quietude for its own sake was never the ideal of the Buddha. *Munihood* or quietude as an attribute of Buddhahood was intended to represent only an ecstatic mood whereby the Buddha could remain untouched and unperturbed, unshaken and unsubdued, even in the midst of horrific terrors. This aspect of Buddhahood came to be much emphasized with the growing ascetic tendencies of a certain section of the Buddhist order.] N

B. Attached to Bas-reliefs illustrating episodes of the *Avadāna*. Section of Gautama's life.

1. (a) Purathima [di]sa Sudhāvāsā de[va]t[ā].

BT

Purathima-disaṃ sudhāvāsā devatā.

CT (142)

(cf. *Purimaṃ disaṃ, Pubbena* [Dīgha III, p. 180]; *Pūrveṇa* [Divyāvadāna, p. 22].

Puratthimāya disāya [Dīgha II, pp. 207, 220].

Puratthimasim disābhāge [Aṭṭhāṅgiya-Sutta].

¹ See the Ṛ -Vedic Keśi-Sūkta

Purastime diśobhāge [Mahāvastu III, p. 306].
 Pūrvasyām diśi [Lalita-Vistara, pp. 59, 266].
 Pūrvasmim diśobhāge [Lalita-Vistara, p. 388].
 Suddhāvāsā devā (devatā) [Dīgha II, p. 50].
 Suddhāvāsakāyikā devā (devaputtā) [Dīgha II, p. 253].
 Śuddhāvāsā devā, Śuddhāvāsakāyikā devā [Mahāvastu III, p. 323].
 Śuddhāvāsakāyikā devaputrāḥ [Mahāvastu I, p. 45, Lalita-Vistara, pp. 3, foll].

“On the eastern side—the Pure-Abode (Rūpa-brahma)
 deities.” Tr

[C. p. 134; PI. 29 (Pls. XIV. Outer Face, LIV. 29)—reads *Sudhu Vasa Deva*. Ho. No. 12—reads *devā*, H. No. 47, L. No. 740].

(b) [Pachimaṃ disaṃ.....]¹ BT (143)
 “On the western side.....” Tr

(c) Uttarāṃ disa [tini] savata-nisisāni. BT (144)

Cf. Uttarāṃ disaṃ, uttarena [Dīgha III, pp. 180, 202]; Uttarena [Divyāvadāna, p. 22]; Uttarāṃ disaṃ [Lalita-Vistara, p. 147].
 Uttarāya disāya [Dīgha II, pp. 227, 220].
 Uttarasmiṃ diśobhāge [Mahāvastu III, p. 309].
 Uttaresmiṃ diśobhāge [Lalita-Vistara, p. 391].
 Uttarasyām diśi [Lalita-Vistara, p. 59].

“On the northern side—three classes of all-pervading
 (Rūpa-brahmas).” Tr.

[C. p. 134. PI. 30 (Pls. XIV. Outer Face, LIV. 30)—overlooks *ni*.
 Ho. No. 12—reads *sanatani sisā(ni)* = Pāli *saṃvatṭāni sisāni*, Sk. *saṃvartāni śīrṣāni*, heads turned towards each other. H. No. 48—reads *savatani sisā(ni)*=covered heads, *savata*=*saṃvṛta*. L. No. 741—follows H.]

(d) Dakkhinaṃ disa cha Kāmāvacara-sahasāni. BT (145)

Cf. Dakkhinaṃ disaṃ, Dakkhiṇena [Dīgha III, pp. 180, 235].
 Dakṣiṇena [Divyāvadāna, p. 22].

¹ Supplied by us.

Dakkhiṇāya diśāya [Dīgha II, pp. 207, 220].

Dakkhiṇasmim diśābhāge [Āṭṭhāṇḍiya-Sutta].

Dakṣiṇasmim diśobhāge [Mahāvastu III, p. 307].

Dakṣiṇasyām diśi [Lalita-Vistara, pp. 59, 266].

Dakṣiṇasmim diśobhāge [Lalita-Vistara, p. 389].

Cha Kāmāvacara-devā [F. Vol. V, p. 424].

Kāmāvacarā devā [Mahāvastu I, p. 209].

Kāmāvacaraḥ devāḥ, Kāmāvacaraḥ deva-(sahasrāṇi).

[Mahāvastu I, pp. 259, 209; II, 2; Lalita-Vistara, p. 33].

[Pūrvasyām diśi] ṣaṭ Kāmāvacara-devāḥ sthita abhūvan [Lalita-Vistara, p. 362].

“On the southern side—six thousand Kāmāvacaras of the
six Heavens of Lust.” Tr

{C. p. 134; Pl. 31 (Pls. XIV—outer face, LIV. 31)—reads *chaki mavam ca rasahasam*. Ho. No. 13—reads *Kāmāvacarasa; hasāni; hasāni=* *hāsyāni*, amusements. H. No. 49 and L. No. 742—*cha Kāmāvacara-sahasāni*=six thousand Kāmāvacaras}.

“These four labels refer to the scene of the deities or angels, both of the Kāmāvacara and the Rūpāvacara Devalokas, entreating with folded hands the Bodhisattva, then a god of the Tuṣita heaven, to come down on the earth to be born as man—some standing to the east, some to the west, some to the north and some to the south of the Bodhisattva, who gave his consent after his observations of place, time and the rest.” E

[The expression *puratthima-diśam* or *purastima-diśam* seems to be quite peculiar to Buddhist literature. The Sanskrit *purastāt* with which *puratthima* has some affinity, is evidently an adverbial expression, with the Ablative case-ending used in a Locative sense, it being a synonym for *prācyāṃ diśi*, ‘in the eastern quarter.’ As the parallel expressions from the Sanskrit Buddhist works go to indicate, the word *purastima*, met with in the Mahāvastu (I, p. 40), came to be replaced by *pūrvasyām* when the Buddhist literary dialects were sufficiently Sanskritised. The Buddhists usually enumerate the four cardinal points in the order of East, South, West and North.¹ The Barhut labels show a departure from this traditional mode in that they intend to place the north after the east and before the south. Portion of the existing bas-relief, which now survives, does not bear traces of any letters of an inscription pointing to the west, though

¹ E. g.—*Pūrva-dakṣiṇa-pāścimōttarābhyo digbhyo bahūni devaṣatahasrāṇi sannipati-ānyabhuvan*, Lalita-Vistara, p. 52.

it goes without saying that a fourth inscription having reference to the west and the deities of eight intermediate *Rūpabrahmalokas* is a desideratum, for the three labels, pointing to the east, the north and the south, do not exhaust the list of the deities who are ordinarily known to have inhabited six *Kāṃāvacara deva lokas* and sixteen *Rūpabrahmalokas* extending up to the *Akaṇiṭṭha* heaven.¹ The five highest *Rūpabrahma* heavens, *Aviha*, *Atappa*, *Sudassa*, *Sudassī*, *Akaṇiṭṭha*, are called *Suddhāvāsa*, the Pure Abodes (Childers, *Sub-roce Sattaloka*). The third label seems to refer to the *Brahmakāyika* deities, i.e., the dwellers of the three lowest *Rūpabrahmalokas*, the *Brahmapūrisajjas*, the *Brahmapurohitas*, and the *Mahābrahmas*. In certain passages of the *Lalita-Vistara*, the deities are divided into four classes instead of into five, to wit, *Suddhāvāsa*, *Ābhāvāra*, *Brahmakāyika* and *Śuklapāṇḍika*. The fourth label mentions six thousand gods or angels inhabiting the six *Kāṃāvacara* heavens—the *Cātummahārājika* (*Cāturmahārājika*), the *Tāvatiṃsa* (*Trayatiṃsa*), the *Yāma*, the *Tusita* (*Tuṣita*), the *Nimmāṇarati* (*Nirmāṇarati*), and the *Paranimmitasavartī* (*Paranirmitavāsavartī*). *Savataniśa* may be equated with Sk. *Sarvatanīśrita* or *sarvātmaniśrita*, meaning those who have a recourse, an access or a connexion everywhere, in all places, i.e., in all concrete existents or individualities. In the Buddhist mythology, a *Brahmakāyika* god like *Sanatkumāra* is said to make his appearance before the gods of the six *Kāṃāvacara* heavens, assuming a universal form, a form which all the *Kāmaloka* gods regard as their own self (*sabbadevā tassa attabhāraṃ mamāyanti tādisaṃ yera*).² According to the *Janavasabha* and *Mahāgovinda Suttas* of the *Dīgha-Nikāya*, no seat was required to be allotted for *Sanatkumāra* in the assembly of the *Kāṃāvacara* gods in the *Sudharmā*-hall, it being his custom to honour a particular god by sitting on his lap, while all the gods sit cross-legged anxiously expecting his presence.] N

2(a). Sādhika-saṃmadam turam devānam.

BT (146)

Of. Bodhisattvasya cyavanakālasamaye... Bodhisattvasya pūjākarmaṇe
...caturaśītyapsaraḥ śatasahasrāṇi nānātūryyasaṅgītivāditena
yena Bodhisattvastenōpāsāṅkrāman...tāni cāpsaraḥ śatasahasrāṇi
svām svām saṅgītiṃ samprayujya purataḥ prṣṭhato vāmadakṣiṇe

¹ *Brahmakāyikānāṃ bahūni śata-sahasrāṇi yāvad Akaṇiṭṭhānāṃ devānāṃ*, *Lalita-Vistara*, p. 52.

² *Sumaṅgala-Vilāsinī* II, Siamese Ed, p. 419.

ca sthitvā Bodhisattvaṃ saṅgītirutasvarena abhistuvanti sma
[Lalita-Vistara, Ch. V].

“The jovial ravishing music of the gods, joyous with
dancing.” Tr

{C. pp. 29, 134. Pl. 32 (Pls. XIV. 2; LIV. 32)—reads *sādika*, *sādikaśa*. Ho. No. 14—translates “Music of the gods, gay with dancing.” *Sādika* may be taken to be a somewhat irregularly formed equivalent of Sk. *Sāṭika*, a kind of dramatic performance, applicable to the dancing of apsaras. Sk. *Sārika* means gambling with dice (Tawney). *Sammada* is both an adjective ‘gay’ and a substantive ‘gaiety.’ Here it forms a compound with *sādika*. *Turaṃ* = *tūryaṃ*, musical instrument, music. It is also likely that the three words *sādika*, *sammada* and *tura* refer respectively to three groups of dancers, singers, and players on instruments as seen in the amusement-scene below which the label stands. H. No. 50 and L. No. 743—translate “the music of the gods, which gladdens by (*i.e.*, accompanied with) acting.” *Sātaka*, a *nātaka-bheda* (Bharata-Nāṭya-śāstra).}

(b) Alambusā acharā.

BT (147)

Cf. Alambusā accharā [F. Vol. V. p. 152 foll.; Vimāna-Vatthu, p. 17].

Paścimasmiṃ diśobhāge Alambuṣā devakanyā [Mahāvastu, III, p. 308].

Paścimesmiṃ diśobhāge Alambuṣā deva-kumārī [Lalita-Vistara, p. 390].

Alambuṣā apsarā [Vāyu-Purāṇa, Ch. LXIX].

“Alambuṣā, the heavenly dancer.”

Tr

(c) Misakosi acharā.

BT

Misakesi acharā.

CT (148)

Cf. Missakesi accharā [Vimāna-Vatthu, p. 47].

Paścimasmiṃ diśobhāge Mīśrakeśi devakanyā [Mahāvastu III, p. 323; Lalita-Vistara, p. 390].

Mīśrakeśi apsarā [Vāyu-Purāṇa, Ch. LXIX].

“Miśrakeśi, the heavenly dancer.”

Tr

(d) Padumāvatī acharā.

BT (149)

Cf. Puṇḍarikā accharā [Vimāna-Vatthu, p. 47].

Puṇḍarikā apsarā [Vāyu-Purāṇa, Ch. LXIX].

Uttarasmin diśobhāge Padumāvatī deva-kanyā [Mahāvastu III, p. 309].

Uttaresmim diśobhāge Padmāvatī deva-kumārī [Lalita-Vistara, p. 391].

“Padmāvatī, the heavenly dancer.”

Tr

(e) Subhadā acharā.

BT (150)

Cf. Subhaddā accharā [Vimāna-Vatthu, p. 47].

“Subhadrā, the heavenly dancer.”

Tr

“The scene of a celestial musical performance consisting of the dances, songs and concerts of the apsarasas and expressive of the joy of the gods over their success in inducing the Bodhisattva to be born in the womb and in anticipation of the happy advent.”

E

[The order of the five labels attached to the above scene calls for a comment. The label put first in this monograph has been engraved, as noticed by Cunningham, below the four labels referring to the four dancing *apsarasas*, and below and at one side of the scene itself. The order in which the *apsarasas* have been enumerated by Cunningham, Hultsch and Lüders is warranted neither by the scene itself where prominence is accorded to *Alambusā* the heavenly dancer in the centre, standing pointedly behind the child on its right side, nor by the traditional lists except one in the *Mahābhārata* and the *Purāṇas* in which *Miśrakeśi* has been given the precedence over *Alambuṣā*. In the *Harivaṃśa* list quoted by Cunningham, the name of *Alambuṣā* stands before that of *Miśrakeśi*. So in the *Vimāna-Vatthu* list of twelve *apsarasas* mentioned by name,¹ *Alambuṣā* comes

¹ Vimāna-Vatthu, p. 47 :—

Nandā c'eva suṇandā ca Soṇadinnā Suvimhitā,
Alambuṣā Miśrakesi ca Puṇḍarikātīdāruṇī
Eṇipassā Supassā ca Subhaddā Mudukāvadi
Etā c'aññā ca seyyāse accharānaṃ pabodhiyā.

Cf. Vāyu-Purāṇa list of 34 *apsarasas*, *ibid.*, Ch. LXIX, vs. 4-7.

before *Mīśrakeśī*, the latter before *Puṇḍarikā* corresponding evidently to *Padmāvatī* of the label, and she before *Subhaddā*. In the *Mahāvastu* list of 32 celestial damsels (*deva-kanyā*), divided into four groups of eight each and allocated to four quarters, *Alambusā* stands before *Mīśrakeśī* among the damsels of the western quarter, while the name of *Padmāvatī* is found among the damsels of the northern quarter, usually coming after the western. The identification of *Puṇḍarikā* with *Padmāvatī* is not justified by the *Lalita-Vistara* list where *Padmāvatī* is mentioned as a divine damsel other than *Puṇḍarikā*.¹ But it seems likely that the conception of *Padmāvatī* was a later offshoot of the earlier conception of *Puṇḍarikā*. The prominence given to *Alambusā* is clearly brought into relief in the Pāli *Alambusa-Jātaka* (F. No. 523) where she had to be selected from amongst 2½ crores of heavenly courtezans as the only agent of seduction of the Bodhisat *Isisīṅga* of great ascetic vow. The *Vimāna-Vatthu* and the *Mahāvastu* lists of the *apsarasas* have each an importance of its own. The former mentions twelve names of which four appear in the Barhut labels, and the Barhut scene itself contains twelve figures. The peculiar importance of the latter consists in the allocation of the damsels to different quarters and spelling of the names of *Alambusā* and *Padmāvatī* is almost the same as that of the Barhut labels. The names themselves are suggestive of personal accomplishments, as hinted at in some of the ballads of the *Vimāna-Vatthu*.² For instance, *Mīśrakeśī* is one with chequered coiffure; *Alambhūṣā*, transformed into *Alambusā* means one endowed with beauty enough to dispense with all artificial ornaments—one best adorned while unadorned. In the 69th chapter of the *Vāyu-Purāṇa*, the *apsarasas* are broadly divided into two classes—(1) *Laukikī* or *Maṇeyā*, and (2) *Divyā*. According to this division, *Mīśrakeśī*, *Alambusā*, and the remaining 32 *apsarasas* fall under the *Laukikī* class. They were, according to the Pauranic description, noted for their peerless beauty and quick movements; the *Divyā* class naturally includes the *apsarasas* mentioned in the *Veda*, *Menakā*, *Rambhā* and the rest. The expression *devānam* seems to be intended to convey both a possessive and an adjectival sense; in its adjectival sense it is the same as *divya* or celestial and qualifies *turam* before it, cf. *pañcāpsaraḥ aśasrāṇi divya-tūrya-saṅgīti-sampravāditena* (*Lalita-Vistara*, p. 110).

¹ *Lalita-Vistara*, p. 390.

² *Alambhus* in Bengali means an idle, worthless fellow. Cf. the Epic *Alambusāḥ Ghatotkacāḥ*.

The word *tura*, *turiya* or *tūrya* appears to have been used in the Buddhist literature in the triple sense of musical measure (*tāla*, *tāḍa*), musical instrument, and playing on musical instruments with or without the accompaniment of dancing, singing and the rest. In some of the Buddhist works we have mention of some three musical measures, viz., (i) *pāṇissara*, *kamsalāla* or *pāṇitāla*; (ii) *Velāla* or *ghanaṭāla*; (iii) *kumbhatkūṇa* (*uduka-rāḍya*) or *caturassi ambhanaka* or *ammaṇa tāla*. The *turiya* in the sense of musical instruments is said to be of five kinds (*pañcaṇṇika-turiyaṃ*, *pañca-turiyaṃ*);¹ (i) *atata*—the drums covered with leather on one side; (ii) *ritata*—the drums covered with leather on both sides; (iii) *atata-ritata*—the drums completely covered with leather; (iv) *ghana*—instruments played by striking, such as cymbals, tambourines and bells; (v) *sasira*—wind instruments (Childers *sub voce*). *Saṃmadam*, Pali *sammadam*, Sk. *sammadam* or *sammadam* means literally that which causes intoxication or exhilaration, cf. Pāli *bhatta-sammada*, drowsiness due to a heavy meal (Childers *sub voce sammada*). Here it seems to mean that which is delightful or rapturous (*manoramam*, *manojñam*), i.e., *sammada* = *sammada*.² If *sammada* could be rightly equated with *sammata*, it would mean considered or estimated, *Sāḍika* is a most baffling word. It seems to have affinity first with Pāli *sāḍikkha*, *sāṛikkha*, and Sk. *sadyka*, *sadykṣa*, meaning suitable to or befitting the occasion; secondly with a word like *sāṇḍika* meaning appertaining to a group or assembly, as well as *sātika* or *sādika* meaning that which is pleasing to the senses (*saravajjya* or *śraraṇjya*). It may as well be equated with a word like *sāduka* or *srāduka* meaning that which is sweet. It seems more probable that *sāḍika* here stands for *sāḍikā* or *sāḍikā*, meaning dress or professional equipage, i.e., what is aptly called in the Buddhist works the *ābharaṇa-bhūṣā* of the *apsarasas*. The suggestion that *Sāḍika* is the same as *Sāḍaka* or *Sattaka* in the sense of a kind of dramatic performance (*nāṭaka-bheda*) seems quite convincing, if it can be proved that *Sāḍaka* was either in existence or was recognised as a distinct class of drama at the time when the Barhut railing was erected. This is not however to suggest that *tura* or *turiya* of the label excludes the idea of a dramatic performance. Though the primary idea of *turiya* is instrumental music (*rādita*, *rāditra*), that of *savṛṇita* is singing (*gīta*), and that of *nāṭya* or *nāṭaka* is dancing (*nacca*, *nṛṇya*),³ they are found to be inseparably bound together,

¹ Cf. *Kāma-sūtra*, Benares Ed., p. 33.

² Cf. *Kusumaganḍhasammada* (Paramatthajotikā 1, p. 111).

³ *Kāma-sūtra*, Ch. 10: *sanṛtṭam anṛtṭam vā gītṭam rāditaṃ*.

as well as associated with scenic representation, ballad-recitation and acting. At any rate, these things happen to be invariably mentioned or implied in Buddhist literature, wherever there is reference to the *tūryyas* of the *apsarasas* and of the royal courtiezans collectively called *nāṭaka*, *nāṭakī* or *nāṭaka-strī*.] N

3. Bhagavato ūkraṇṭi.

BT (151)

[Cf. Bodhisatto Tusitā kāyā cavitvā mātukucchiṃ okkamati (okkanto hoti, loke uppanno) [Dīgha II, pp. 12-13, 53].

Bodhisatto setavaravāraṇo hutvā.....paṭisandhiṃ gaṇhi [F. Vol. 1, p. 50].

Bodhisattvāḥ...Tuṣitabhavanam upagamyā manuṣjabhavam abhikāṃkṣ-
amānāḥ mātuh kuṣṣim avataranti.....garbbhāvakraṇṭisampannāśca
samyak sambuddhā bhavanti [Mahāvastu I, p. 142].

Bodhisattvas Tuṣitavarabhavanāceyutvā.....pāṇḍuragajarūpo bhūtvā...
(mātuh) kuṣṣāvavakraṇṭamata [Lalita-Vistara, p. 63].

(Bhagavataḥ) garbbhāvakraṇṭi [Lalita-Vistara, p. 86].

“The Descent of the Divine Being.”

Tr.

{C. p. 138; Pl. 89 (Pls. XXVIII. 2, LV. 89)—reads *rukḍanti*. H.
No. 98—reads *okraṇṭi*. L. No. 801.}

“The scene of the Descent of the Bodhisattva from the
Tuṣita heaven into queen Māyā’s womb to be born on
earth as man and her dream thereof.” E

[*Ukraṇṭi*, *okkanti*, *avakkanti* or *avakraṇṭi* means in popular usage conception or commencement of maternity. Three factors are said to be indispensable to conception: (1) parental union, (2) maternal competence, and (3) transmission of the paternal element.¹ The process of conception, as commonly held, implies a combination or unification of paternal and maternal elements.¹ *Arakraṇṭi*, *avakramaṇa* or *avataraṇa*, as opposed to *utkraṇṭi* or *utkramaṇa*, means the descent, ingress or intrusion of the vital spirit from a particular embodiment or corporeality, cf. the Upaniṣadic expression *utkrānta-prāṇān*.² The association of the idea of coming and passing with the vital spirit is a matter of almost universal belief. This latter

¹ Divyāvadāna, p. 1.

Chāndogya Up., VII, 15-23.

belief implies the addition of the vital spirit coming from outside to the unified parental elements whether at the moment of parental union or after certain stages of gestation, when the skull and brain are formed,¹ and this is at the root of the religious rite called *prāṇa-pratiṣṭhā* of images. Side by side with these beliefs, there has sprung into being another, which is by far the most daring and spiritual and suggestive of the immortality of divine personality. This is no other than that of the belief in the bodily descent and resurrection.² It is on this phase of belief that the Indian doctrine of incarnation seems to have been based, the doctrine which is characteristically Bhagavatic. And it is precisely in this Bhagavatic sense that the expression *ūkraṇti* seems to have been used in the Barhut label and the Jātaka texts quoted above from the Buddhist literature. As for *avakrānti* = *ūkraṇti*, cf. Pāli *avahāṇa* = *ūhāṇa*.] N

4. Mahāsāmāyikāya Arahaguto devaputo vokato
bhagavato sāsani paṭisaṃdhi. BT (152)

Cf. Jātamātrasya Maheśvaro devaputraḥ Śuddhāvāsakāyikān devaputrānām atraivam āha...bodhisattva mahāsattvo manusyoloke utpanno na cirād āsavakṣayād anuttarāṃ samyak sambodhiṃ abhisambhotsyate ... tattva-vyākaraṇena ca bodhisattvaṃ vyākṛtya punarapy āgamisyāmaḥ [Lalitavistara, pp. 127-9].

“In the great assembly (of the gods) the future inauguration of the Law of the Divine Master is being announced by the Angel Arhadgupta, the protector of the Arhats.” Tr

{C. p. 137 ; Pl. 66 (Pls. XVI. 2, LIV. 66)—reads *dhakato, sāsani*. Ho. No. 23—reads *dhokato, sāsati*. H. No. 80. L. No. 777}.

“The scene of the visit of the Angel Arhadgupta with his retinue to the palace of Śuddhodana for paying homage to the newly born princely Bodhisattva and predicting the inception of the Law of the Divine Teacher.” E

[It is yet to be ascertained whether *mahāsāmāyikāya* is a Loc. Fem. Sing. or an adjective qualifying *Arhadgupta*. According to Buddhaghosa's

¹ Barua, History of Pre-Buddhist Indian Philosophy, pp. 76-77.

² Cf. The Rāmāyana account of Śarabhaṅga's death.

comment, the term *mahāsamaya* is used in the sense of a great multitude or assembly (*samaya samūhatthe*, Atthasālini, p. 57). Any god or angel with the name of *Arahagula* or *Arhadgupta* is met with nowhere in the Buddhist texts now within our reach. *Sāsani* need not be construed as a Loc. Sing. of *sāsana*, for there are instances where the expression *bhagavato sāsani* may be construed as the same in meaning as *satthu-sāsana* or *śāstā-śāsana*. *Vokato*=*Vjākṛtaḥ* or *vyavakṛtaḥ*. The construction is in the Passive Voice.] N

5. Arahaguto devaputo.

BT (153)

Cf. *Rṣiguptaḥ devaputraḥ* [Lalita-Vistara, p. 5].

“The Angel Arhadgupta, Protector of the Arhats.” Tr

{C.p. 142; Fl. 3 (Pls. XX, LVI. Frag. 3). Ho. No. 23. H. No. 80 f. n. L. No. 814.}

“The scene of the Bodhisattva’s Renunciation to become a Divine Teacher and the protection of his cause by the angels headed by Arhadgupta.” E

[The label, as noted by Cunningham and his eminent successors, is fragmentary, and there is no reason for surprise if it was followed either by a separate label or by a clause with the words *Bhagavato abhinikkramaṇa*¹ or the like. According to the Lalita-Vistara and the Mahāvastu, the name of the protecting god, precisely as in the case of the preceding label, is *Mahēśvaraḥ*]. N

6. (a) *Vejayanto pāsāde*.

BT

Vejayanto pāsādo.

CT (154)

Vejayante pāsāde.

CT (154)

(b) *Sudhammā deva-sabhā*.

BT (155)

(c) *Bhagavato cūḍā-maho*.

BT (156)

Cf. *Vejayantapāsādo* [F. Vol. I, p. 203].

Vejayanto nāma pāsādo [Sumaṅgala-Vilāsinī, Siamese Ed., II, p. 417].

Vejayanta-ratho [Dīgha II, p. 135; F. Vol. I, p. 202].

¹ Cf. *Bhagavato abhinikkhamanaṃ* (Dīgha II, p. 51).

Sudhammā sabhā [Dīgha II, pp. 207, 220].

Sudhammā deva-sabhā [Sumaṅgala-Vilāsinī, Siamese Ed., II, p. 417].

Sudhammā devamaṇisabhā [F. Vol. I, p. 204].

Tāvatiṃsa-bhavane cūlāmaṇi-cetiyo [F. Vol. I, p. 65].

Trāyastrimśatsu deveṣu cūḍāmaho [Lalita-Vistara, p. 225].

Trāyastrimśadbhavane cūlāmaḥam vartati [Mahāvastu II, pp. 165-6].

(a-c) "The Palace of Victory."

"The Righteous Council-Chamber of the gods."

"The festival in honour of the hair-lock of the
Divine Master." Tr

(a-c) "In the Palace of Victory."

"The assembly of the gods in the Sudharmā Council-
Hall."

"The festival in honour of the head-dress of the
Divine Being." Tr

(c-a) "The assembly of the gods in the Sudharmā Council-
Hall."

"The festival in honour of the Divine Being's dressed
hair-lock "

"In the Vaijayaṇṭa palace." Tr

{C. pp. 136-137; Pl. 64-65 (Pls. XVI. Upper Relief, L1V. 64-65)—reads *pāsāde*, Ho. Nos. 25(a), 25(b). H. Nos. 78(1), 78(2)—*pāsāde* is probably a clerical mistake for *pāsādo*. L. No. 775}.

"The scene of the Bodhisattva's adoption of asceticism for the fulfilment of his divine mission, signified by a change in garments and the removal of his dressed hair-lock, subsequently enshrined by the gods in Indra's heaven Trayastriṃśā." E

[In the arrangement of Cunningham and other previous scholars the label *Sudhammā devasabhā* stands first and the label *Vejayamṭa-Pāsāde* or *Vejayamṭo Pāsādo* stands last. This may be justified only by construing *Vejayamṭa-Pāsāde* as a locative phrase. The palace is called *Vejayamṭa* not because it belongs to Indra, the Victorious, but because it rose up, as stated in the Kulāvaka-Jātaka at the time of Śakra's or Indra's victory over the

Demons.¹ *Vejayanta* or *Vaijayanta* occurs also as the name of Indra's royal car or mansion (*ratha. nimāna*), *Vaijayantī* or *Vaijayantika* denotes the royal flag or banner flying over the *Vaijayanta* car and palace. According to Buddhist mythology, the famous Council-Hall of Indra's heaven came to be called *Sudharmā* after and in commemoration of *Sudharmā*, a pious queen of Magadha.² Höernle seems quite justified in thinking that here *sabhā* refers not so much to the Council-Hall as to the assembly of the gods itself. All the three labels refer to a scene forming a sequel to the Bodhisattva's self-initiation into asceticism, technically described as *Bhagavato Pabbajjā* in the Dīgha II, p. 51.] N

C. Jātaka
Labels
recording
episodes of
the *Santike*
section of
Gautama's
life:

1. Brahmadevo mānavako.

BT (157)

(cf. Subrahmadevaputrapramukhā Brahmakāyikā devāḥ [Lalita-Vistara, p. 359].

"The young [Rūpa-] Brahma deity Subrahmā."

Tr

{C. p. 137; Pl. 76 (Pls. XIX, LIV). H. No. 87. L. No. 788—*mānavaka*-young Brahmin.}

"The label refers to the scene of Subrahmā's visit to the Buddha for congratulation on his conquest of Māra."

E

(i) those
of the
*Adhigama-
Nidāna* ;

[2. Bhagavato Sākamunino bodho.]³

BT (158)

[Cf. Bhagavato abhisambodhi [Dīgha II, p. 52].

[Bodhisattassa] bodhimāṇḍe sabbaññutappatti [F. Vol. I, p. 77].

Mahāsattassa buddhabhāva-patti [Atthasālinī, p. 33].

Bhagavataḥ bodhi [Lalita-Vistara, pp. 12 foll.].

Bhagavataḥ abhisambodhana [Lalita-Vistara, p. 657].

"The Awakening (or Enlightenment) of the Divine Master Śākyamuni."

Tr.

"The scene of the Bodhisattva's first awakening as to the nature of Dharmatā."

E

¹ *Vejayante utthitattā Vejayanto t'eva nāmaṇ akamṣu.*

² F. Vol. I, p. 204.

³ The label is repeated here with a purpose. The word *bodho* or *bodhi* was once previously taken in the sense of the *Bo Tree*, emblematic of a Buddha's whole career, is here taken to signify only a particular event in the Buddha's life.

[The root meaning of the word *boḍha* or *boḍhi* is the awakening or rising from slumber. Here it is used in the Buddhist technical sense of the first intuition of the mind, purified by the prolonged and conscious efforts, into the nature of reality or real order, and of the first suggestion of the solution of the problem obsessing a reflective mind.] N

[3. Bhagavato dhammacakkaṃ.]¹

BT (159)

(ii) those of
the *Deśanā-*
nidāna.

Cf. Bhagavato dhammacakka-pavattanaṃ [Dīgha II. p. 52].

Bārāṇasīyaṃ Isipatane bhagavato paṭhama dhammadesanā [Milinda pp. 349-350.]

Dhammacakkappavattiṃ [Mahāvamsa XXX. 79].

Bhagavatā dharmacakkaṃ pravartanaṃ [Lalita-Vistara and Mahāvastu].

“The Dharmacakra of the Divine Teacher.”

Tr

“The scene of Buddha’s Discourse called Dharmacakka-pravartana meaning turning of the Wheel of the Law or setting the Dharmacakra in motion, symbolising the Buddha’s first formal declaration of his thought-order, public inauguration of his system of righteousness, and rolling of a vehicle of salvation.”

E

[The term *Dharmacakra* seems to have been coined on the analogy of *Brahmacakra* and in contradistinction to *Sudarśanacakra* considered as a mere weapon of destruction. The ideas governing the conception of *Brahmacakra* are astronomico-cosmical and physio-psychological, and suggest a double metaphor of a chariot wheel, the rolling of which symbolises the cyclical motion of time, seasons and the rest, and of the potter’s wheel, the creative movements of which symbolise the creative functions of the cosmic forces. Buddha’s *Dharmacakra* at once supplements and transcends the earlier scientific conceptions of *Brahmacakra* and rectifies the popular, fanciful and poetical notion of a vehicle moving towards the paradise. That is to say, Buddha’s conception of *Dharmacakra* is transcendental idealistic as opposed to the empirico-idealist position of older Vedānta, and abstract as opposed to the concrete of popular mythology and poetical imagery. With the development of the idea of Buddhism as a path of

¹ The label is deliberately placed here. It has a different significance in the Barhut context, see *passim*.

salvation, the old Indian popular and fanciful notions crept in and the abstract conception of *Dharmacakra* degenerated into what it was originally designed to supplement, transcend and rectify, namely, into that of the wheel fitted with a vehicle, bodily moving to the paradise. This transition of thought is vividly represented in the following Saṃyutta-verse (S.I. p. 33):

*Ujuko nāma so maggo, abhayā nāma sā dīṣā,
Ratho akūjano nāma dhammacakkena saṃyuto.*

The Buddhists have not always been able to observe the nice distinction between the *Dharmacakra* as the enunciation of a law and its literary representation in the form of a Discourse and in cases, the two are hopelessly confused. But we must take the *Dharmacakra* as occurring in the label here in the sense of a particular event of Buddha's life]. N.

4 Jaṭila-sabhā.

BT (160)

Cf. Jaṭilānaṃ pabbajjā [F. I. p. 82; Divyāvadāna, p. 393].

Jaṭila-damaṇaṃ [Mahāvamsa, Ch. XXX].

Ājīviya-sabhā [Jaina Uvāsaga-Dasāo, Ch. VI].

“The assembly of the Jaṭilas.”

Tr

“The Jaṭilas in assembly.”

Tr

{C. pp. 93, 131; CI. 13. (Pl. LIII. C. 13; Indian Museum, 114).
H. No. 13. L. No. 702}

“The label records, no doubt, the scene of Conversion by the Buddha of three Kāśyapa brothers, together with their followers.”

E

[*Jaṭila* literally means ‘One who wears matted hair.’ According to its technical meaning, the term signifies a class of ascetics marked out by the matted hair worn on their head. The *Keśīs*, as described in a R̥gvedic hymn, were a class of ascetics who used to wear long loose locks of hair. The wearing of matted hair and garments made of bark (*jaṭā-vaḥkala*) was the common outward characteristic of the ancient Indian order of hermits, of *R̥ṣi-prarajyā*. The *R̥ṣis* and *Munis* were members of the older *Fāṇ-prastha* order. The members of this order lived in hermitages, with or without family. This order was essentially based upon the domestic principle. There were elements of corporate life in this order. We hear of the band of *Vālakhilya ṛṣaya* or saintly pigmies living

together in one place. The *Jatilas* referred to in the Barhut label were not solitary hermits. They formed three large bodies of ascetics each following a distinct leadership. It is this corporate life which marked them out from the ordinary members of the *Vānaprastha* order. They formed a connecting link between the *Vānaprastha* and *Parivrājaka* orders. They were not mendicants like the Wanderers. *Sabhā* primarily connotes the idea of a court, and indirectly of any assembly or association, where the behaviour of the members is courtier-like. The distinctive feature of a *Sabhā* in its general sense is sitting in rows in appointed seats according to ranks of the members, and it can perhaps be taken to suggest the idea of a hierarchical arrangement and gradation.] N

5. (a) Jetavana Anadhapediko deti koṭisaṃthatena
keto. BT (161)

Cf. Anāthapiṇḍiko gahapati sakaṭehi hiraṇṇaṃ nibbāhāpetuṃ Jetavanam koṭisaṃthāraṃ santharāpesi [Cullavagga p. 159].

Anāthapiṇḍiko gahapati...Jetavanam koṭisaṃthārena aṭṭhārasahiraṇṇa-koṭhi kiṇitvā ..buddhapamukhassa saṃghassa adāsi [F. Vol. I. pp. 92-93].

Sāvaththiṃ saṃpe Jetassa vanam Anāthapiṇḍikassa āraṃo [Paramattha-jotikā I. p. 113].

“Anāthapiṇḍika dedicates Jetavana (Prince Jeta’s garden),
purchased with a layer of crores.” Tr

{C. pp. 84, 133; PI. 20 (Pls. XXVIII. 3, LIII. 20, LVII)—reads *Ketā*. H. No. 38. L. No. 731}.

(b) Ga[m]dhakuṭi. BT (162)

Cf. Jetavanassa majjhe Dasabalassa Gandhakuṭi [F. Vol. I. p. 92].

Bhagavato Jetavane Mahāgandhakuṭi [Paramattha-jotikā II. p. 403].

“Gandhakuṭi—the Fragrant Cottage.” Tr

{C. pp. 85, 87, 133; PI. 22 (Pls. XXVIII. 3, LIII. 22, LVII). II. No. 40. L. No. 733}.

(c). Kosa[m]bakuṭi. BT (163)

Cf. Bhagavato Jetavane Kosambakuṭi [Paramattha-jotikā II. p. 403].

Jetavanassa paccante Kosambakuṭikā [Sārattha-Pakāsinī, Siamese Ed., I. p. 361].

“Kosambakuṭi—the Perfumed Cottage”

Tr

{C. pp. 85, 87, 133 ; PL. 21 (Pls. XXVIII. 3, LIII. 21, LVII). H. No. 39. L. No. 732}.

“The scene of dedication to the Buddhist Order, with the Buddha at the head, of Jeta’s Garden as a monastic residence, along with all new additions of buildings, pavilions and the rest, by Anāthapiṇḍika, the great banker, who had to purchase the garden from Prince Jeta for cartloads of 18 crores of gold pieces, sufficient to cover almost the whole plot of land.” E

[*Jetavana* is the famous Buddhist monastic residence in a suburb of Śrāvastī. This is otherwise known as *Anāthapiṇḍika’s* or *Anāthapiṇḍada’s ārāma*. The former designation, according to a Buddhist Commentary,¹ commemorates the name of the former owner of the garden, i.e., of Prince *Jeta*, son of King *Prasenajit*,² and the latter designation bears the name of its subsequent owner, i.e., of the Banker *Anāthapiṇḍika*. It is suggested that such commemoration was intended to serve as an inducement to others for the acts of piety. Although Prince *Jeta* sold his garden for a huge sum of money, it is stated in the *Cullavagga* (p. 159) that he added a large number of gold pieces to those of *Anāthapiṇḍika* to complete the covering of the land with coins, and there is no clear indication that Prince *Jeta* received the money from the purchaser for himself. On the other hand, the *Cullavagga* account creates an impression that he supplemented the sale proceeds by his own contribution for the conversion of his pleasure-garden into a Buddhist monastic residence. This is clearly borne out by the evidence of the Commentary, referred to above, in which we are told that the prince had not only parted with the sale proceeds but made some additional gifts which, added to *Anāthapiṇḍika’s* princely donation, just sufficed to complete the project. Cunningham is right in saying that the *Gandhakūṭi* and the *Kosambakuṭi*, used by the Buddha as his private chambers, were not in the original garden. The word *Kosamba* has nothing to do with *Kauśāmbī*, the capital of the Vatsa country, as suggested by Hultzsch. It seems to be a Pāli counterpart of Sk. *Kausumtha*, meaning sweet-scented, or literally, bearing the perfume of *Kusumbha* flower. *Koto*

¹ Paramatthajotika I pp. 112-113.

² Bockhill’s Life of the Buddha, p. 48

is a clerical mistake for *ketam*, meaning 'purchased.' If the reading *ketā* be adopted, it would mean 'purchaser.'] N

6. Idasāla-guha.
Im̐dasāla-guhā.

BT
BT (164)

Cf. Sakkapañbasuttam (Indasāla-guhāyaṃ) [Dīgha II].
Indasāla-guhāyaṃ Sakkapañha-samāgamo [Mīlindapañha, pp. 349-50].
Indrasāla cave [Hwen Thsang].

"Indrasāla cave."

Tr

{C. p. 138 ; PI. 92 (Pls. XXVIII ; LV. 92). H. No. 99. L. No. 805.}

"The scene of Śakra's visit to the Buddha at the Indrasāla Cave of the Vēdiyaka mountain in Āmraṣaṇḍa, a Brahmin village near Rājagṛha, and Buddha's Discourse in reply to Śakra's questions."

[For notes on *Indasālaguhā* see Section III.] N

7. Tirami timigila-kuchimha Vasuguto mācito Mahā-devānaṃ.

BT

Tiramhi timiṃgila-k uchimbā Vasuguto mocito Mahā-devena.

CT (165)

Cf. Baṇijah [timiṃgila-] mahāgrāhamukhād vinirmuktaṃ anuguṇaṃ vāyum āsādyā tīram anuprāptaṃ Buddhasya Bhagavato nāmagrahaṇāt [Divyāvadāna p. 232].¹

[Timiṃgilasya] kālavaktrāt pravahaṇaṃ muktaṃ.....sarve tīrṇāḥ tīvratārāt bhayāt [Dharmarucyavadāna in Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā, No. 89].

"Vasugupta is brought ashore, being rescued from Timiṃgila's belly (by the power of the name of) the mighty godly saviour."

Tr

{C. p. 142 ; RI. 66 (Pl LVI. R. 66)—reads *Tirannti Migila Kuchimha Vasu Guto machito Mahade vanam.* H. No. 159 f.n. L. No 831.}

¹ We are indebted for this reference to Mr. N. G. Majumdar of the Calcutta University

The scene of the merchants under the leadership of Vasugupta being saved from the grim jaws of the leviathan by the power of the Buddha's name." E

[*Timiṅgila* is just one of the three species of the leviathan wrongly considered to be fishes, two other species being *Timi* and *Timiṅgilagila*.¹ The distinction between them seems to rest on their bodily shapes and sizes. *Timi*, *Timinda* or *Timiṅgila* is, according to Childers, the name of a certain fish of enormous size that haunts the oceans between the *kulācalas* (Anglo-Pāli Dict., *sub voce* *Timi*). The Pāli Mahāsutāsoma-Jātaka (F. No. 537) recognises six species of monster fishes in the ocean, amongst whom *Ānanda*, *Timanda* (*Timinda*?), and *Ajjhokhāra* are said to be 500 leagues in compass, and the three varieties of *Timis*, represented by *Timi*, *Timiṅgala* and *Timirapiṅgala*, are described as being each 1000 leagues in length—all of them feeding upon the rock-*śaieṇā* weed, the aquatic plant *callisneria*.² In the Ulūka-Jātaka (F. No. 70) *Ānanda* is represented as the king of fishes. It is impossible in the absence of the original inscription to verify Cunningham's eye-copy or to suggest relying thereon that in *mahādevānaṃ* we have a Genitive plural form, used in an Instrumental sense, though such instances are not rare in the dialects of Aśokan Edicts]. N

8. Tanacakama Parirepo.

BT

Vanacamkamo Pāireyo.

CT (166)

Cf. Pārileyyako rakkhitanasāḍḍo [Vinaya Mahāvagga, X. 4. 6].
Pārileyyakavanasāḍḍo [F. III. p. 489].

"The woodland resort Pārileya."

Tr

{C. Pl. LVI. Frag. 20.}

"The label seems to have been attached to a scene of the grassy woodland, where the Buddha spent a rainy season,

¹ Divyāvadāna p. 52: *Timibhayaṃ*, *Timiṅgilabhayaṃ*, *Timitiṅgilabhayaṃ*. At p. 229, there is mention only of two species, viz *Timi* and *Timiṅgila*.

² Fausbøll Vol. V p. 462—reads *titimīti Miṅgalo Timirapiṅgalo*, which is evidently a mistake for *ti-Timi-Timiṅgala-Timirapiṅgalo*, not corrected in its English translation. Mahāvastu (III., pp. 355, 454, 246) mentions *Timi*, *Timiṅgila* and *Timiṅgilagila*. Amarakoṣa distinguishes four species: *Timi*, *Timiṅgila*, *Timiṅgilagila* and *Rāghava*, enumerated in the order of one being capable of swallowing the preceding one.

being waited upon and guarded by the elephant Pārileyyaka or Pāreraka." E

[The *Pārileyyaka* or *Pāreraka* woodland, used as a resort by the Buddha during a rainy season, is said to have derived its name from the *Pārileyyaka* elephant that guarded it. The story of this elephant is given in the *Mahāvagga* of the *Vinaya-Piṭaka*, the *Kosambī-Jātaka* of the *Jātaka-Comy* (F. No. 428), and the *Kosambakavatthu* of the *Dhammapada-Comy*.] N

9. Ajātasata Bhagavato vamaṇdate.

BT

Ajātasatu Bhagavato vamaṇdate.

CT (167)

Cf. Māgadho Ajātasattu Vedehiputto Bhagavato pāde sirasā vandati [Dīgha II. Mahāparinibbāna-suttanta].

Ajātaśatru Vaidehiputra, the king of Magadha, bows down at the feet of the Blessed One [Rockhill's *Life of the Buddha*, pp. 123-124].

Rājā Māgadho Ajātasattu Vedehiputto Bhagavantam abhivādetvā bhikkhu-saṃghassa añjalim paṇāmetvā ekam antam nisīdi [Dīgha I. pp. 50-51].

Vaidehiputra Ajātaśatru, the king of Magadha, went up to the Blessed One, and throwing his cloak over one shoulder, he touched the ground with his bended knee, and with clasped hands he spoke [Rockhill's *Life of the Buddha*, p. 99].

"Ajātaśatru bows down in obeisance to the Divine Master." Tr

{C. p. 136 ; PI. 63 (Pls. XXII. 2, LIV. 63). Ho. No. 22. H. No. 77. L. No. 774}.

"The label refers to the memorable scene of King Ajātaśatru's interview with the Buddha." E

[*Ajātasatu*, *Ajātasattu* or *Ajātaśatru* denotes, according to Buddhist derivation, 'an enemy of one's father even before one was born.' This derivation suggests an after-thought and can be credited only in so far as it is quite in consonance with what the Buddhist thought of *Ajātaśatru*'s character as a son. In the Jaina books, the king of this name is called *Kuṇḍiya*, *Kunika* or *Kūṇika*, and this latter name is evidently intended to mean 'one with a crooked hand and cunning disposition.' But

*Ajātaśatru*¹ is also the name of an earlier Indian king mentioned in the Kauṣītaki and Bṛhad-Āraṇyaka Upaniṣads. There he is represented as a good king of Benares, noted for his ability for philosophical discussions. In this older context, *Ajātaśatru* cannot be supposed to have been used in a contemptuous sense. *Ajātaśatru* seems to have been intended to mean 'one whose enemies were not (lit. not born).' *Vaṇdate* does not mean a simple act of bowing down as understood in the West. The process of bowing implied in Buddhist or Indian *vandanā*, considered as a physical act, carries with it the idea of kneeling down with folded hands, touching the feet of the *Guru* or deity, the head or face stooping down to rest thereon. This meaning of *vandanā* is clear from the parallels quoted from the Pāli and other sources. This is also corroborated by the figure of *Ajātaśatru* in the Barhut sculpture.] N

10. (a) Rājā Pasenaji Kosalo. BT (168)
 (b) Bhagavato Dhamacakam. BT (169)

Cf. Rājā Pasenadi Kosalo [Dīgha, I. p. 103]

Rājā Prasenaṇit Kauśalaḥ (Kauśalo) [Divyāvadāna, pp. 85, 612, 618].

Prasenaṇit—an Ikṣvāku prince [Purāṇas quoted in Pargiter's Dynasties of the Kali Age, p. 11].

Rājā Jiyasattu—the king of Sāvattthī [Jaina Uvāsaga Dasāo].

- (a) "King Prasenaṇit of Kosala". Tr
 (b) "The Dharmacakra of the Divine Master." Tr

{C. pp. 90, 134; Pl. 40, 39 (Pls. XIII. Inner Face, LIV). Ho. Nos. 10 (b), 10(a). H. Nos. 58, 57. L. Nos. 751, 750.}

"King Prasenaṇit's last interview with the Buddha as described in the Dhammacetiya-Sutta." E

[*Pasenaji*, like *Ajātaśatru*, is an honorific name or a title assumed by the king of Kosala, and its meaning is quite evident from the Jaina synonym *Jiyasattu*, the Conqueror. In the Dhammacetiya-Sutta, King Prasenaṇit describes himself as a *Kosalaka*, i.e., a native of Kosala. Höernle rightly suggests that *Kosalo*=Sk. *Kauśalaḥ* or *Kauśalyaḥ*, cf. *Kauśalyaḥ* in the Praśnōpaniṣad I. 1.] N

1 Cf. *Ajātaśatruva*, a patronymic of *Ajātaśatru* in the Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa V. 5. 5. 14.

11. Atanā marata....

BT

Atanā maramtā....

CT(170)

Cf. Sammāsambuddhassa pana ñātakā attanā marantāpi paresaṇ
jīvitam na voropenti [Viṇūḍabha-Vatthu, Dhammapada-Comy.].

“[Even though they be] dying themselves.”

Tr

{C. p. 142 ; RI. 65 (Pls. XXXI. 2, LVI. R 65)—reads *atenā carata*.
L. No. 880—translates ‘made by himself (?)’}

“The recorded scene is apparently that of Viṇūḍabha’s
invasion of Kapilavāstu and non-violent attitude of the
Śākya.”

E

1. [Dhatarāṭho Yakho.]¹

BT (171)

2. Virūḍako Yakho.

BT (172)

3. [Virupakho Yakho.]²

BT (173)

4. Kupiro Yakho.

BT (174)

Cf. Dhṛtarāṣṭra iva Gandharvagaṇaparivṛto ;

Virūḍhaka iva Kumbhāṇḍagaṇaparivṛto ;

Virupākṣa iva Nāgagaṇaparivṛto ;

Dhanada iva Yakṣagaṇaparivṛto [Divyāvadāna, pp. 126, 148].

Purimaṃ disaṃ rājā Dhatarāṭṭho Gandhabbānaṃ adhipati

Mahārājā ;

Dakkhiṇaṃ disaṃ rājā Virūḷho Kumbhaṇḍānaṃ adhipati

Mahārājā ;

Paccimaṃ disaṃ rājā Virūpakkho Nāgānaṃ adhipati Mahārājā ;

Uttaraṃ disaṃ rājā Kuvero Yakkhānaṃ adhipati Mahārājā

[Mahāsamaya-Suttanta and Āṭānāṭiya-Suttanta, Dīgha II,
p. 257, III, pp. 197-201].

Kuverassa Alakamaṇḍā nāma rājadhāni, Mahārājassa Visāṇā
nāma rājadhāni, tasmā Kuvero Mahārājā Vessavaṇo ti pavu-
cati [Dīgha III, p. 201].

E. Jātaka-
Labels at-
tached to
figures of
Lokapālas-
or Mahārā-
jas and oth-
er Yakṣas,
Nāgas and
Devatās,
both male
and female,
apparently
unconnect-
ed with
any parti-
cular epi-
sode of Bud-
dha's life.

¹ Supplied by us.

² Supplied by us.

Purastime diśobhāge rājā Dhṛtarāṣṭro Gandharvādhipati devehi
 saha rakṣati;
 Dakṣiṇasmiṃ diśobhāge rājā Virūḍhako Kumbhāṇḍādhipati
 Yamena saha rakṣati;
 Paścimasmiṃ diśobhāge rājā Virūpākṣo Nāgādhipo Varuṇena
 saha rakṣati;
 Uttarasmiṃ diśobhāge rājā Kuvero sarva-Yakṣādhipo rākṣasehi
 saha rakṣati [Mahāvastu, pp. 306-309].
 Pūrvasmiṃ diśobhāge rājā Dhṛtarāṣṭrah sarva-Gandharvapatiḥ
 Sūryyena saha rakṣati;
 Dakṣiṇasyā diśobhāge rājā Virūḍhakaḥ sarva-Kumbhāṇḍādhi-
 patiḥ Yamena saha rakṣati;
 Paścimasmiṃ diśobhāge rājā Virūpākṣaḥ sarva-Nāgādhipatiḥ
 Varuṇena saha rakṣati;
 Uttarasmiṃ diśobhāge rājā Kuvero naravāhanaḥ sarva-Yakṣānām
 adhipatiḥ Maṇibhadrena saha rakṣati [Lalita-Vistara,
 Ch. XXIV].

1. "Dhṛtarāṣṭra Yakṣa—the jealous holder of royal
 sceptre." Tr
2. "Virūḍhaka or Virudraka Yakṣa—the terrible warrior-
 god." Tr
3. "Virūpākṣa Yakṣa—the evil-eyed warrior-god." Tr
4. "Kubera Yakṣa—the powerful lord of wealth." Tr

{C. pp. 134, 138; PI. 25, 82 (Pls. LIII, XXII, LV). H. Nos.
 43, 92. L. Nos. 736, 794 }

[We have not much to add to Cunningham's notes. *Mahārāja* is the common designation applied in Buddhist books to *Dhṛtarāṣṭra*, *Virūḍhaka*, *Virūpākṣa* and *Kuvera*. It is rather unusual that each of them should be called a *Yakṣa* in the Barhut inscriptions. It is certainly not a departure from the Buddhist literary tradition. There are a few passages where *Kuvera* is styled a *Yakṣa*. As a *Dhanada* or giver of wealth, he deserves to be called a *Yakṣa*. It would seem that the term *Yakṣa* has been used in the Barhut labels in a special sense to denote 'a mighty hero or warrior.' Cunningham has not noticed that *Kuvera* has been described in the *Lalita-Vistara* as a *naravāhana*, 'one whose vehicle is man.' The figure of *Kuvera* as

sculptured on the Barhut railing distinctly follows the tradition as found in the *Lalita-Vistara*. The Pāli *Ātānāṭiya-Suttanta* contains a description of *Uttarakuru*, in which *Alakamaṇḍā* or *Viśāṇā*, the capital of *Vessaraṇa Kuvera*, was situated. In this account we have mention of man, woman, young man and young woman used as vehicles. In the *Sutta-Nipāta-Comy Kuvera* is described as *nūrivāhana*, 'one having a woman for a vehicle.'¹ We welcome the suggestion of Cunningham that the original meaning of *Kuvera* was 'the hero of the earth,' *Ku* meaning the earth and *Vira* the hero. That the *Yakṣa*-worship in its ultimate analysis is hero-worship is beyond dispute. *Kuvera* or *Kurīra* can also be derived as 'one who dominates the earth,' *kuṃ viśeṣena iratili Kureraḥ*. According to later etymology, *ku* signifies *kutsila* or 'ugly.' The association of *Kuvera* with *Maṇibhadra* in the *Lalita-Vistara* is interesting. The *Ātānāṭiya-Suttanta* mentions *Indra*, *Soma*, *Varuṇa* and *Maṇi* or *Maṇibhadra* among the *Yakṣa*-generals. In the *Mahāvastu* and the *Lalita-Vistara*, *Sūryya* is associated with *Dhṛtarāṣṭra*, *Yama* with *Virūḍhaka*, and *Varuṇa* with *Virūpākṣa*.] N

5. Ajakālako Yakho.

BT (175)

Cf. *Ajakālāpako Yakkho* [Udāna, pp. 4-5].

"Ajakāla Yakṣa—the goat-killer (Unborn Time.)" Tr

{C. pp. 20, 138; PI. 83(PI. LV). H. No. 93 and I. No. 795—

Ajakāla = *Ādyakālu*.}

"The scene of Ajakāla's interview with the Buddha." E

[A *Yakṣa*, known by the name of *Ajakālāpaka*, appears as the interlocutor of a Buddhist Dialogue in the *Udāna*, which gives a brief account of his unexpected and undesired interview with the Buddha. The Dialogue lays the scene in Pāṭali, on a spot where the *Yakṣa*'s temple and palace stood. According to the *Udāna-Comy*, his temple and mansion were situated in Pāvā. The Dialogue says that the *Yakṣa* grew furious to see the Master seated in his throne, inside his guarded mansion. *Akkula-Bakkula* he cried, and produced various terrific sights to frighten the fearless and strange trespasser, who ventured to enter his sanctuary. This

¹ *Paramatthajotikā*, II, p. 370.

description is interesting as being suggestive of the frightful nature of the demi-god. There is no doubt that the Pāli *Ajakalāpaka* is the *Ajakālaka* of the inscription. Dr. Hultzsch rightly suggests that *Ajakālaka* is but the Sk. *Ādyakāla*, whom we might take to be a terrible embodiment of the ruthless unborn Time, destroying living beings, whose essence is immortality. The Barhut sculpture, coupled with the evidence of the Udāna-Dialogue and its Commentary, goes to show that in both the mythic cult and popular art, the all-devouring figure of Time or Death came to assume a stereotyped human form. With regard to the origin and significance of the name *Ajakalāpaka*, the Udāna-Commentary records that the *Yakṣa* loved to receive offerings along with the group of goats brought to him for sacrifice, that he caused living beings to be killed like goats, as well as that he felt appeased when men brought him offerings with the cry of the goat, the symbol of the unborn (*aja*). The *Yakṣa* was a hard-hearted and cruel personality, capable of supernatural powers. But so potent was the miracle of the Buddha's presence and instruction that it soon subdued the *Yakṣa* into a gentle listener to the noblest message of the man.] N

6. Gaṃgito Yakho.

BT (176)

"Gāṅgeya Yakṣa—the demoniac demigod of the Gangetic region." Tr

{C. p. 134. Pl. 26 (Pls. XXI. 2, LIII). H. No. 44. J. No. 737.}

"The scene of Gāṅgeya's interview with the Buddha." E

[The Jātaka-Commentary (F. No. 288) introduces us to one *Gaṅgādēvatā*, the presiding female deity of the Ganges or rivers in general. She is represented as the custodian of fishes. One of the Barhut medallions (C. Pl. XXXVI. 7) bears the representation of this deity, who is mounted on an elephant-faced *makara* and holds a goad in her right hand. The Mahāvīyutpatti mentions a serpent-king by the name of *Gāṅgeya*, 'one belonging to the Ganges or Gangetic region.' But nowhere in Indian literature can we trace a *Yakṣa* of the same name. *Gaṃgila* = Pāli *Gaṅgeyya*, Sk. *Gāṅgeya*, cf. *Campeyya-Nāgarājā* of the Campeyya-Jātaka. The Barhut sculpture represents *Gaṃgila Yakho* as a male demi-god standing on an elephant and a tree, placed side by side, with folded hands held on his breast. The tree at once indicates that he is an inhabitant, not of water, but of land.] N

7. Sūcilomo Yakho.
Sūcilomo Yakho.

BT
CT (177)

Cf. Sūcilomo Yakkho [Saṃyutta I. p. 207; Sūciloma-sutta, Sutta-Nipāta, II. S. No. 5.]

Sūcilomo ti yassa sakalasarīraṃ kaṭhina-sūcihi gavaccitaṃ viya jātaṃ [Sārattha-Pakāsinī, Siamese Ed., I., p. 353].

Sūcisadisalomattā Sūcilomo Yakkho [Paramattha-Jotikā, II., p. 302].

“Sūciloma Yakṣa—the needle-haired demi-god.” Tr

{C. p. 136 : PI. 60 (Pls. XXII, LIV). H. No. 74, L. No. 771.}

“The label seems to record a scene of Sūciloma Yakṣa’s interview with the Buddha.” E

[The name of Sūciloma occurs as an interlocutor in two Pāli Dialogues, one incorporated in the Saṃyutta-Nikāya and the other in the Sutta-Nipāta. In both, his residence is said to be *Taṃkitamañca*, situated in Gayā. According to Buddhaghosa’s Commentaries, *Taṃkitamañca* was a *Taṃ*-shaped elongated platform or resting place. A *Taṃkitamañca* is really a cell looking from a distance like a mound, consisting of four pieces of stone slabs, supporting a larger piece, spread over them like a roof (and resting on another larger piece). The upper and lower pieces are horizontally rivetted to the four supporters, so that when the house is turned upside down, it remains all the same. Buddhaghosa also tells us that this curious dwelling house of the *yakṣa* was situated on a bathing tank in the vicinity of the village of Gayā. This was a place for pilgrimage, dirty on account of spitting, fluid secretion of the nose and other filthy matters excreted by persons coming from different quarters. The body of the *yakṣa* is said to have been covered with spine or prickle-like hair, serving as a means of protection and striking terrors. Whenever the *yakṣa* wanted to frighten other beings, he did so by raising erect his prickle-hair. He is said to have occasionally gone out of his cell for food. The behaviour ascribed to him is quite befitting a porcupine. Our suspicion begins to grow stronger on account of his association with another species of *yakṣa*, namely, the *Khara* or “Rough-skinned.” The body of *Khara* is said to have been covered with a rugged skin, marked by square bony plates, resembling so many pieces of bricks, set side by side. When he wanted to frighten other beings, he did so by raising erect his scales. The description of him resembles that of an alligator or crocodile (*suṃsumāra*). The Rāmāyaṇa describes *Khara* as a *Rākṣasa*, who was a brother to *Rāvāṇa*. *Khara* of the

Epic is found to be a dweller of a forest region near about the source of the Godāvarī, and there is nothing in the Epic description except certain general attributes to connect him with a crocodile. He is described in the Epic simply as a savage of heroic character, enormous physical strength and dreadful appearance. But Buddhaghosa's description can clearly indicate a process of how there evolved conceptions of *Sūciloma* and *Khara* as two human demi-gods from porcupine and crocodile like animals and reptiles. *Tupkitamañca*, as described by Buddhaghosa, was a good shelter for both a porcupine and a crocodile, the former remaining inside the cell and the latter outside; and this can well explain the association of the two *yakṣas* in the popular mythology. In the Jātakas, a crocodile is described as a being of dreadful appearance (*ruddhulassana*). One need not be surprised that the *yakṣas* of the *Khara* species are described in the Mahāsamaya-Suttanta as *Kumbhīra*. The *yakṣas* of the *kumbhīra* species are said to have been inhabitants of Rājagṛha, having their residence on Mt. Vaipulya.¹ The Barhut sculpture represents *Sūciloma* as a human being, thereby showing how a ferocious *yakṣa* like him could be humanised by the instruction of the Buddha]. N

8. Supāvāso Yakho.

BT

Supāvāso Yakho.

CT (178)

“Supravāsa Yakṣa.”

Tr

{ C. p. 133 ; Pl. 15 (Pl-LIII). H. No. 34. L. No. 726 }

“The scene of Supravāsa's interview with the Buddha.” E

[*Supāvāsa* is neither = *Supravasu*, nor = *Suprāvṛṣa*, but = *Supravāsa*, cf *Suppāvāsā Upāsikā* (Aṅguttara I). The significance of the name has not yet been ascertained; very likely it refers to a demoniac demigod of a region called *Supravāsa* or *Sucarṇaprabhāsa*. The *Yakṣa* and the *Rakṣa* were, according to the Vāyu-Purāṇa (Ch. LXIX), two sons of *Kāśyapa* and *Khaṣā*. According to the Pauranic derivation, *Yakṣa* is derived from a verbal root, meaning ‘to eat’ ‘to drag’ (*khādane*, *kṣṣṇe*). The earlier Buddhist texts, have not sufficiently distinguished between the *Yakṣas*, the *Rākṣasas* and *Piśācas*. The differentiation seems to have taken place in the later literature of India.] N

¹ Dīgha II. : *Kumbhīro kūjugahiko Vepullassa nivesanaṃ.*

Bhūyo noṃ sataśaṣaṣaṃ yakkhānaṃ payurapāsati

9. (a) Erapato Nāgarājā.
Erāpato Nāgarājā.

BT
CT (179)

Cf. Erāpatho ahirājā [Cullavagga V. 6].

Erāpatha-nāgarājā [F. II, p. 145].

Elāpatro nāgarājā [Mahāvastu III, p. 384; Mahāvvyutpatti, 167-44].

Ailapatraḥ pradhāna-nāgaḥ [Vāyu-Purāṇa, LXIX. 70].

“Elāpatra (Ailapatra), the Dragon-chief.”

Tr

{C. p. 134; PI. 41 (Pls. XIV. 3, LIV)—reads *Nāja*. H. No. 59.
L. No. 752.}

(b) Erāpato Nāgarājā bhagavato vadate.
Erāpato Nāgarājā bhagavato vande.

BT
CT (180)

Cf. Erakapatto nāgarājā bhagavantam vanditvā [Dhammapada-Comy.,
Erakapatta-Vatthu].

“Elāpatra, the Nāga-king, bows down to the Divine
Master.”

Tr

{C. p. 135; PI. 42 (Pls. XIV. 3, LIV). H. No. 60. L. No. 753.}

“The adoration of the Buddha by Elāpatra.”

E

[*Erakapatta* or *Erāpatha* is represented in the Vinaya Cullavagga and in the Khandhavatta-Jātaka as one of the four Nāga-kings.¹ In the Mahāvastu he is mentioned as one of the four immensely rich persons and is said to be an inhabitant of Taxila. Höernle's suggestion as to *Erapata* or *Erāpata* being a wrong spelling of *Airāvata* or *Airāvata* is untenable. In the Vāyu-Purāṇa (LXIX. 70), *Airāvata* and *Ailapatra* are mentioned among the descendants of *Kadru*. The name of the Nāga-king requires explanations. The diversity of spellings is hopelessly confusing. *Erakapatta*, *Erapata*, *Elāpatra* and *Ailapatra* form one category. *Elāpatra* was, according to Hwen Thsang, the name of a tree. According to the Dhammapada-Comy, *Erakapatta* is the leaf of the *Eraka*-tree. Is this not fantastic? When a wrong Sanskritisation established the spelling *Elāpatra* or *Ailapatra*, it called forth a special mythology to explain it. Two explanations seem quite possible: either (1) that *Erāpatha* was a Prakritic form of *Erāprastha* or *Ilāprastha*, the city built by *Ilā* or *Aila*, or (2) that *Erāpatha* or the Sheep-beaten-track was the name of a caravan route that passed through

¹ Other three kings are—*Virūpakka*, *Chabyūputta* and *Kaṇḥagotamaka*.

Takṣasīlā¹ and ultimately lent its name to the city or locality itself. *Era* = *Era* = *Elaka* = *Meṇḍa* or *Meṇḍaka*, the ram. The Mahāvuddesa (p. 156) mentions *Meṇḍapatha* as the name of a country lying beyond *Ajapatha* and a sandy wilderness (*marukantāra*). According to the Apanṇaka and Vaṇṇu-(Jaṇṇu)-patha Jātakas (F. Nos. 1-:), this must have been situated to the west of a sandy desert that had to be crossed by the caravan merchants proceeding from Eastern India towards *aparānta*, a destination in the west. In the English 'adores' one can find the nearest approach to *vamdate*, which implies not only an act of salutation, but salutation with praise.] N

10. Cakavāko Nāgarājā. BT (181)

"Cakravāka, the Dragon-chief." Tr

{C. pp. 26, 133; PI. 24 (Pls. XXI, LIII). H. No. 42. L. No. 735.}

"Cakravāka adores the Buddha." E

11. Cadā Yakhi. BT

Caṇḍā Yakhi[ni]. CT (182)

"Candrā, the Yakṣiṇī." Tr

{C. pp. 20, 138; PI. 81 (Pls. XXII, LV). H. No. 91. L. No. 793.}

[The Barhut sculpture represents *Candrā* as mounted on a horse-faced *makara* showing that it was her vehicle.] N

12. The Yakhini Sudasanā. BT (183)

"Yakṣiṇī Sudarśanā." Tr

{C. pp. 20, 137; PI. 78 (Pls. XXIII, LIV), H. No. 89, L. No. 790.}

[*Sudarśanā* is figured as a female of tall stature, standing probably on a rhinoceros-faced *makara*. The *Yakṣiṇis* are nowhere given a redeeming feature in Buddhist literature. As a matter of fact, the *Yakṣiṇis* as such are absent from the Brahmanic and the Jaina works. In most of the Buddhist stories, the *Yakṣiṇī* figures as the most revengeful metamorphosis of a co-wife who dies with a grim determination to devour the children of her rival. There are certain descriptions, such as those to be found in the Valāhassa-Jātaka and the Ceylonese Chronicles which resemble those of *Rākṣasis* in Brahmanic literature.] N

¹ *Catrāro mahānidhayo* : *Saṃkha Vārūṇasyām*, *Mithilāyām Padumo*, *Kalīṅgesu Piṅgalo* *Takṣiṇīlāyāṃ Elāpatro* [Mahāvastu III, p. 383]. Cf. Rockhill's *Life of the Buddha*, pp. 46, 244.

13. Culakokā Devatā.

BT (184)

“The little hunter-goddess.”

Tr

{C. p. 132; PI.6 (Pls. XXIII, LIII). II. No. 26. L. No. 717.}

[The Barhut sculpture represents the goddess as a female figure of short stature, standing on an elephant and holding the branch of a tall tree to her left, which she embraces with her left hand and entwines with her left leg. If the tree had been a date-palm, as it may appear to be so, her name could be explained as denoting a goddess of the date-palm tree. In the Dhammapada-Commentary *Koka* occurs as the name of a hunter who used to hunt by setting dogs against the game (*see* *Koka-Sunakha-Vatthu*). If *Koka* could have been taken as an adjective of dogs, it would perhaps mean *koṇka*—‘crying’ or ‘bemoaning,’ and the goddess might be associated with the habit of screaming at night. But seeing that *Koka* has been expressly used in the Dhammapada-Commentary as the name of the hunter, one might be led to surmise that *Koka* was an aboriginal tribe, whose tutelary deities were known after it as *Koka’s*. Inscriptions have been found out at Dinajpur referring to temples dedicated to a tutelary god called *Kokāmukhasvāmī*. It would be a mistake to regard this deity as the husband of the goddess *Kokāmukhī*, who is no other than the Barhut *Kokā*. *Kokāmukhasvāmī* is just another name of the Boar Incarnation. In the Vessantara-Jātaka (F. VI, pp. 525-6) *Kokā* occurs as a synonym for *sunakkhā*, and signifies watch-dogs or dogs used in hunting. This goes to prove that, whatever the description of the goddess, she is connected with hunting or hunter.] N

14. Mahakokā Devatā

BT

Mahākokā Devatā.

CT (185)

“The great hunter-goddess.”

Tr

{C. p. 139, PI. 98 (Pls. XX, LV). H. f. n. 27. L. No. 811.}

[*Mahākokā*, as her name implies, represents the general class of *Kokā* goddesses. She figures on the pillars of the Barhut Gateway found at Pataora and has no vehicle.] N

15. Sirimā Devatā.

BT (186)

- Cf. Dakṣiṇasyā diśobhāge Śrīyāmatī devakumārikā ¹
 [Lalita-Vistara, Ch. XXIV].
 Uttarasmin diśobhāge devakumārikā Śrī ²
 [Lalita-Vistara, Ch. XXIV].
 Dakṣiṇasmim diśobhāge devakumārī Śrīmatī ³
 [Mahāvastu III. p. 307].
 Uttarasmim diśobhāge devakumārī Śrī ⁴
 [Mahāvastu III. p. 309].
 Sīri-Devatā, Sīri Devī [Jātaka] .

“Śrīmā—the goddess possessed of lucky grace.” Tr

{C. pp. 22, 136 ; Pl. 59 (Pls. XXIII. 1, LIV). H. No. 304. L. No. 770.}

[*Śrīmā* is the feminine form of *Śrīma* or *Śrīmat*. Both the masculine and feminine forms occur among the names of donors of the Barhut railing. If *Śrīmā* be the Prakrit counterpart of Sk. *Śrīmat*, its feminine form must be taken as an equivalent of *Śrīmatī*, and not of *Śrīmā*. We mean that *mā* is merely a suffix and not the member of a compound. *Mā* came to acquire a significance exactly equivalent to that of *Śrī* or *Lakṣmī* as is evident from *Mādhava*, ‘the husband of *Mā*,’ an epithet of *Viṣṇu*, and later of *Kṛṣṇa-Viṣṇu*, in the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas. This sense of identity between *Mā* and *Śrī* or *Lakṣmī* is maintained even in modern popular parlance. But the forms *Śrīmatī* and *Lakṣmatī* in the Lalita-Vistara and the Mahāvastu also prove that *mā* or *matī* was originally applied as a suffix. This use also survives in modern popular usage. *Śrīmatī* means one possessed of or endowed with beauty or lucky grace. It is quite possible that this twofold usage has been in vogue for a long time. The explanation of the confusion between *mā* as a suffix and *Mā* as an epithet denoting the goddess of Luck is partly philological and partly psychological. The confusion could not perhaps have taken place but for the Prakrit suffix *mā* which represents the stage of transition between

¹ *Śrīyāmatī Yaśamatī Yaśahprāpti Yaśodharā*.

² *Āsā Śaddhā Hirī Śrī*.

³ *Lakṣmatī Śrīmatī Yaśamatī Yaśodharā*.

⁴ *Āsā Śraddhā Hirī Śrī*. Cf. Fausbøll's Jātaka, V, p. 398 : *Catasso devakaññū catuddisaṃ atthaṃsu : Sīrī pācīnadisāya, Āsā dakkhiṇadisāya, Saddhā pacchimidisāya, Hirī uttaradisāya*. Ibid, V. p. 392 : *Sakkassa Āsā, Saddhā Sīrī Hirī entasso dhātaro*.

matī and *mā*. It may also be that *Sirimā* or *Śrīmā* is a word belonging to the same category as *aṇimā* and *laghimā*, all indicating abstractions, popularly known as attributes of the Divinity. In this case the suffix is not *mant* denoting possession but *iman* denoting state. If this supposition be correct, we can easily understand how *Sirimā*, like *Sirī* or *Śrī*, came to stand for an abstract conception and a concrete personality. The psychological explanation is that the idea of motherhood has always been associated with bountiful gifts, helping the preservation of life. The Buddhist literature, as is evident from the verses quoted above from the *Lalita-Vistara* and the *Mahāvastu*, presents us with *Śrīmatī* and *Śrī* as two distinct goddesses or as two distinct types of one and the same goddess. The Barhut sculptures offer us an artistic counterpart of the above. Amongst them we have representations of both *Sirimā* or *Śrīmatī* and *Sirī* or *Śrī*. The Buddhist texts, referred to above, represent *Śrīmatī* as peculiar to the south and *Śrī* as peculiar to the north. The Barhut representation of *Sirimā* or *Śrīmatī*, as shown by Prof. Rhys Davids, has a faithful correspondence in the modern iconography of South India, while the Barhut representation of *Śrī*, as a goddess seated with two elephants pouring water over her,¹ is the oldest instance of the most common representation of the goddess and figures of her, exactly in this form, can be bought to-day in the bazaars of Northern India (Buddhist India, pp. 217-221). Thus modern images of the goddess as found in the south and north of India corroborate the truth of Buddhist literary evidence. The *Siri-Kālakaṇṇi-Jātaka* (F. No. 382) describes *Sirī* as a *devadhītā*, and represents her as a daughter of *Dhatarattha*, the guardian of the eastern quarter. Thus the *Jātaka* assigns *Sirī* or *Sirimā* to the east. The explanation perhaps is that the *Śrīmatī* type of the goddess of Luck was a local deity of the south and of the east beyond the ancient Aryandom. Further, it is apparent from the verses in the *Lalita-Vistara* and the *Mahāvastu* that *Śrīmatī* or *Sirimā* was just one of four varieties of the goddess prevalent in the south, the others being *Yasahprāptā* or *Lakṣmīmatī*, *Yasamatī* and *Yasodharā*. Similarly we have in them *Śrī* (Graceful Beauty) represented as one of the four cognate goddesses, the rest being *Āśā* (Hope), *Śradhā* (Faith), and *Irī* or *Hirī* (Modesty). These with the exception of *āśā* and *Śrī* can be traced in the *Bṛhad-Āraṇyaka Upaniṣad*²; these with

¹. *Padmaśthā padmahastā ca ghaṭotkṣiptajalaputā*.

². *Bṛhad-Āraṇyaka* 1-5.3.

the exception of *āsā* can be traced in the Taittirīya Upaniṣad¹; and these with the exception of *śrī* can be traced in the Pāli Abhidhamma books as mental qualities or abstract virtues. *Śrī* in the Śrī-Sūkta of the R̥g-Veda is represented both as an abstract principle and a goddess. *Śraddhā* also signifies both an abstract principle and a goddess in the Śraddhā-hymn of the R̥g-Veda. *Āsā* and *śraddhā* occur in a twofold sense also in the seventh chapter of the Chāndogya Upaniṣad. *Śrī* finds mention, as Prof. Rhys Davids points out, in the Taittirīya Upaniṣad (1.4), 'in mystic conjunction with the dread deities of the Moon, and the Sun, and Mother Earth.'² In a similar context of the *Silakkhandha*-section of the first thirteen Suttas of the Dīgha-Nikāya, we have an express allusion to the practice called *Sirivhāyana*, the invocation of *Sirī* or *Śrī*. It was evidently what the Buddhist would call a *Devadharmika*, *Devapūjaka* or idolatrous Hindu practice. But from the elucidation of the expression by Buddhaghosa, it is rather doubtful whether *Śrī* is an abstract virtue or a concrete image, though both the ideas are there, the concrete predominating over the abstract. A similar conflict of the concrete and the abstract exists in the Buddhist treatment of *Śrī* in the *Siri-Jātaka* (F. No. 289). Prof. Rhys Davids thinks that *Śrī* or *Sirī* was already a popular deity in the Buddha's time, whom the priests, *i.e.*, the Brahmins, had been compelled to assign a place in their pantheon, and that on the strength of a special legend³ invented to excuse their doing so.⁴ The arguments advanced in support of this remark are that *Śrī*, the goddess of Luck, of plenty and success, is not mentioned in the Veda at all, and that even the cognate deities, *e.g.*, those of the Moon, and the Sun, and Mother Earth, though noticed in the Veda, are put far into the background compared with *Indra*, *Agni*, *Soma*, and *Varuṇa*.⁵ "But it is highly probable," says Prof. Rhys Davids, "that they really occupied a very much larger share in the minds of the people of India than these sparse notices in the Veda would tend to show."⁶ What Prof. Rhys Davids says is not the whole truth.

¹ Taittirīya 1.9.

² Buddhist India, p. 219.

³ Sumaṅgala-Vilāsinī, Siamoso Ed., I, p. 127, *Sirivhāyananti 'ehi Siri mayham sarīre patiṭṭhahānti evaṃ sarīrena sirigā avhāyanaṃ*. That is, the expression means the invocation of *Śrī* in the term of body with the formula: 'Come, O *Śrī*, and enshrine yourself in this body.

⁴ Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa XI. 4.3.

⁵ Buddhist India, pp. 217-218.

⁶ *Ibid*, p. 219. Cf. Fausbølls V, p. 399: "*Sirāham devi manujesu pūjīā*

The name of *Śrī* as a personified principle of Beauty not only occurs in the R̥g-Veda but a complete hymn, the famous *Śrī-sūkta*, is there found devoted to *Śrī*. Further, in the *Rayī* of the R̥g-Veda we can trace the Aryan prototype of a goddess of the type of *Śrīmā*. *Rayī*, as conceived in the *Praśnopaniṣad* (1.5) stands for the Sāṃkhya *Prakṛti* or phenomenality, manifested or 'unrecognised'.¹ Here *Rayī* is a personified abstraction. We agree with Prof. Rhys Davids in thinking that there has been a constant tug of war between philosophy and popular belief, higher poetry and heathenism, throughout the whole course of Indian history. But the peculiarity is that neither of the conflicting parties is absolutely free from the influence of the other—the philosophy is inextricably mingled with idle popular notions, and with popular images there is implied a good deal of philosophical thinking, the concrete has always the touch of the abstract, just as the abstract has always the tendency to concretise or symbolise itself. Yet this grand distinction is always there that in the popular line the concrete has predominated over the abstract, while in the academic line the abstract has predominated over the concrete. The popular line in India, as perhaps in every other country, may be distinguished as Bhagavatic. The abstract conceptions suggested in the names of the deities of the Bhagavatic line, e.g., *Śrīmatī* and *Yasomatī* are precisely the attributes of Divinity recognised in literature, and these signify not quality but condition, *śrī* or *śrīmā* meaning *śrī*-hood, *yaśa* meaning *yaśa*-hood. We mean that in the popular or Bhagavatic line the process of abstraction does not directly involve the metaphysical conception of an abstract principle or reality but a mere mental representation of a larger grouping of concrete associations, and that in the Vedic or academic line the process of abstraction involves the conception of a metaphysical principle or reality which cannot concretise itself in the tangible shape of images except through a poetic personification. The Jātaka mythology distinguishes between the Vedic *Śrī* and the popular one by representing the former as a daughter of *Sakra* or *Indra* and the latter as the daughter of *Dhṛtarāṣṭra*, the guardian angel. But of the three cognate qualities *Āśū*, *Śradddhā* and *Irī* associated in the academic line with *Śrī*, none has been represented in the form of an image for worship, in spite of the fact that from the time of the Veda the process of personification, sufficiently strong in the verses of the *Lalita-Vistara* and the *Mahāvastu*, was in vogue.² The total exclusion of *Śrī* even

¹ Barua's History of Pre-Buddhistic Indian Philosophy, p. 229; *Sarvaṃ mūrtiṇā ca amūrtiṇā ca tasmān mūrtir eva Rayiḥ*.

² It is rather surprising that there should be no image of three goddesses despite the vivid description of their characteristics given in the *Sudhābhojana-Jātaka* (F. No. 525).

as a mental quality from the Abhidhamma books of the Buddhists is to be sought in the fact of its being in constant association with popular idolatry. This explanation is emphasised by the absence of *Śrī*, *Srīmatī* and other cognate goddesses from Pāli counterparts of the verses of the Lalita-Vistara and the Mahāvastu, we mean, in the Ātānāṭiya-Suttanta of the Dīgha-Nikāya. The Siri-Kālakaṇṇi-Jātaka contains good Buddhist reasons for rejecting the goddess or the quality associated with her. In the Sudhābhajana-Jātaka, too, one can find that *Srī* is pushed far into the background.] N

F. Miscellaneous.

1. Pacasana.

BT

Pamcāsanam.

CT (187)

“The five seats.”

Tr

{C. P. 142 ; FI. 17 (Pl. LVI). L. No. 900.}

“The label perhaps refers to a scene of the five spots in Uruvilva, where the Buddha stayed five weeks, one week on each spot, after the attainment of Buddhahood.” E

2. [Ba]huhathika-āsana[m] [Bhaga]vato

Mahādevasa.

BT (188)

“The Bahuhastika seat of the Mighty Divine Lord” Tr

{C. p. 143 ; FI. 19 (Pl. LVI). L. No. 902.}

“The label seems to refer to a seat of the Buddha honoured and frequented by many elephants.” E

[*Bahuhathika* cannot here be taken to mean something bearing the imprints of a number of hands, as suggested by Cunningham. There is another Jātaka-Label in which the expression *bahuhathika* characterises a scene of *Nigodha-Naḍḍa*. In this scene, the expression *bahuhathika* is evidently intended to mean something conspicuous by the presence of a number of elephants. This is the second Jātaka-Label in which *Mahādeva* is used as a distinctive epithet of the Buddha.] N

G. Jātaka labels relating to episodes of the Dīre-section of Gautama's life.

1. Maghādeviya-Jātaka[m].¹

BT (198)

¹. Höernle very rightly suggests that the full text is *Maghādeviyaṃ Jātakaṃ*. But grammatical correctness does not surely justify his reading *Maghādeviyaṃ*. There is really no sign for *ṃ* after ‘*ya*.’ The Niddesa heading *Maghādeviya-Suttanta* is naively ungrammatical, but still we have it there.

Cf. *Makhādeva-Sutta* [Majjhima, Sutta No. 83].
Maghādeviya-Suttanto [Culla-Niddesa, p. 80].
Makhādeva-Jātaka [F. No. 9].

“The story about the Bodhisat’s birth as Mahādeva.” Tr

{C. pp. 79, 130; Cl. 8 (Pls. VIII. 2, LIII). Ho. No. 5. II. No. 3. I. No. 691.}

“A brilliant example of renunciation set by the Bodhisat while he was born as king Mahādeva at his first perception of the fact of his old age on his being shown a grey hair plucked from his head by his hair-dresser.” E

[It is apparent from the parallel texts quoted from Buddhist literature that the name of the Bodhisat referred to in the label was written by the Buddhists both *Makhādeva* and *Maghādeva*, the latter spelling being met with nowhere else but the *Culla-Niddesa* or its Commentary. What is most noteworthy here is that the *Niddesa* reading *Maghādeviya* is precisely the same as *Maghādeviya* of the label. The *Niddesa* text clearly refers to the *Jātaka* in its *Sutta* or *Suttanta* form, i.e., to one like the story of *Makhādeva* or *Maghādeva*, the hero eponymos of *Videha*, as we find it in the *Makhādeva-Sutta* of the *Majjhima-Nikāya*.¹ It goes without saying that the Pāli texts preserve in *Makhādeva* and *Maghādeva* two Prakrit forms of Sk and Pāli *Mahādeva*.² One need not be surprised that the phonetic changes of *h* into *gh* and of *gh* into *kh* were peculiar to the dialects of *Videha*, in view of the fact that the name of the king of *Videha* is written *Mākhava Videgha* in the *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa* instead of the Sk. or Pāli *Madhāva Videha*. In the instance just cited from the *Brāhmaṇa* we at once notice the change of *h* into *gh*, as well as of a sonant spirant *dh* into the surd spirant *th*. The change of *h* into *gh* was probably a common characteristic of dialects spoken over a much wider linguistic area as is evident from the occurrence of the form *lāghulovāde* in Aśoka’s Bhabru Edict instead of Pāli *Rākulovādo*. That is to say, the change of *h* into *kh* through an intervocal change of *h* into *gh* was confined to the dialects of *Videha* and of countries lying to the east of it. Even to-day

¹ List of *Suttanta-Jātakas* in the *Buddhist India*, p. 195.

² The name is written *Mohādeva* in the *Mahāvīyutpatti*.

the people of Bakharganj District use the form *Makhādeva* when they try to correctly pronounce *Mahādeva*. Supposing that *Māthava Videgha* or *Mādhava Videha* of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa is the same person as *Makhādeva*, *Maghādeva* or *Mahādeva* of Buddhist texts it requires to be ascertained whether the form *Mādhava* considered as a personal name resulted from a curious and apparently inexplicable vocal contraction of *Mahādeva* or *vice versa*. The Mahābhārata is the oldest Indian text in which *Mādhava* occurs as a personal epithet of Vāsudeva Kṛṣṇa with a fantastic etymology—‘one who is the *dhava* or husband of *Mā* or *Lakṣmī*’. This etymology seems to have been invented at a much later age when *Mādhava* was permanently recognised as an epithet of Vāsudeva Kṛṣṇa’s and needed a plausible grammatical explanation. Failing to derive it as a patronymic of *Madhva*, as there was no ancestor of Kṛṣṇa’s of the same name, the grammarians sought to explain it by an ingenuous invention. It seems that in all earlier literary usages, the words either derived from or compounded with *madhu* in the sense of honey denoted honey-scented plants or honey-sucking insects. One may bear in mind that the vocal contraction whereby *Mahādeva* is converted into *Mādhava* is not altogether unknown in modern Indian dialects. Strangely enough, the Marāṭhi-speaking peoples pronounce *Mahādeva* as *Mādhav*, e.g., *Mahādev Rao* = *Mādhav Rao*.] N

2. Isi-migo jataka.

BT

Isi-miga-jātakam.

CT (190)

Cf. Nigrodha-miga-Jātakam [F. No. 12].

“The story of the Bodhisat’s birth as the sage-like saintly deer.”

Tr

{C. pp. 75, 131; Cl. 9 (Pls. XLIII, 2; LIII). H. No. 10. L. No. 698.}

“The story in which the Bodhisat born as deer acted most wisely by setting mercy above law without violating the latter and setting the best example of self-sacrifice.” E

3. niya Jataka.

BT

.... niya-Jātakam.

CT

Bhojājāniya-Jātakam. (?)

FT (191)

“The story of the Bodhisat’s birth as a thoroughbred horse.”

{C. p. 143 ; FI. 14 (Pl. LVI). L. No. 897.}

“The episode of the Bodhisat’s desperate effort to fight to the finish during his birth as a high-mettled Sindh horse of noble breed.” E

[The label unmistakably records the name of a Jātaka, though of which Jātaka it is difficult to determine. It was found by Cunningham in fragments. In the absence of the original we are to be content with his eye-copy and reading. His reading indicates that three letters, and presumably three syllables, are missing. It would not perhaps have been much difficult to supply the missing letters and syllables, if the context, *i.e.*, the bas-relief to which the label was attached, could be examined. In suggesting the above restoration we have to resort to a twofold hypothesis : (i) that the label has correspondence with the Pāli title of the Bhojājāniya-Jātaka (F. No. 24), and (ii) that it was connected with a Coping bas-relief of which just a small fraction now remains showing the forepart of a horse in harness (C. Pl. XLV.1).] N

4. Haṃsa-Jātaka.

BT

Haṃsa-Jātakam.

CT (192)

Cf. Nacca-Jātakam [F. No. 32].

“The story of the Bodhisat’s birth as mallard.”

Tr

{C. pp. 69, 131 ; CI. 11 (Pls. XXVII. 11 ; LIII). II. No. 158. L. No. 700—reads *Jataka*.}

“The Birth-story in which the wise swan is selected as bridegroom and the handsome peacock is rejected for his shameless dancing.” E

5. Yaṃ bram(h)ano avayesi Jātakam.

BT

Yaṃ brāhmaṇo avāyesi Jātakam.

CT(193)

Cf. Aṇḍabhūta-Jātakam with the verse *Yaṃ brāhmaṇo avāyesi* [F. No. 62].

“The Birth-story (with the verse)—As the Brahmin played).” Tr

{C. p. 139 ; PI. 97 (Pls. XXVI. 8. ; LV). H. No. 157. L. No. 810.}

"The Birth-story in which the Bodhisat then born as a king convinced his Brahmin Purohita of the natural depravity of woman's character by reminding him of a practical joke caused to be practised on him by his wife brought up in strict seclusion from her very birth." E

[*Ḥam* as used in the label is an adverbial expression meaning 'when.' Though in the actual writing *h* is written after *m* in *brahmāno*, it is doubtful if in the actual pronunciation this was treated as a case of metathesis. But without assuming such a metathesis, it is difficult to account for the form *brahmāno* met with in the dialects of some of Aśoka's Edicts.¹ *Avādesi* is a monumental Prakrit counterpart of the Pāli *avādesi*, from $\sqrt{vād}$ (to play on a musical instrument). The expression *avādesi* is quite appropriate and indispensable in a verse relating to *vīṇā*, which is a stringed instrument.] N

6. Citupādasila.

BT

Citupādasilaṃ.

CT (194)

Citupādasilā.

CT (194)

"The habitual playing of the square-board game."

Tr

"The gamblers devoted to the square-board game."

Tr

{C. pp. 94, 131 ; CI. 21 (Pls. XLV. 9, LIII. 21)—translates 'the splitting of the rock,' *citru sila*=split rock. Ho No. 3—translates 'the rock with the gaming board, devotion to the gaming board, the practice of gaming,' and suggests that the vowel *i* for *a* is either a clerical error or a naive provincialism, cf. modern Hindi *cim*=on all four sides: *citupāda*=*catuppāda*=four-sided, i.e., 'four-sided draught-board,' or *citrapāda*=a playing board divided into various parts, cf. such popular expressions for a playing board as *caupat*, *causar*, *caupar*. *Citrapāda* is the name of a Sk. metre consisting of four lines of 23 syllables each: *sila* is either *silā*=rock, or *silam*=practice, habit. The label refers perhaps to the Bodhisat's birth as a gambler. H. No. 21 and L. No. 710—*citupādasila*=*citra utpāta yatra sã silā*, 'the rock where miraculous portents happen.'}

¹ Cf. RI, No. 3.

“The label seems to refer to a scene of the Litta-Jātaka (F. No. 91).” E

[The disputed point in the interpretation of the label is whether *citupādasila* is a compound like *manosilā* which is the name of a Himalayan mountain or it is similar to *keḷisila* which means *the sportful*. If *sila* be *silā* meaning *rock*, *citupāda* must be equated with the Pāli *cittāppāda*, *thought-generating*, *thought-reading*, or *citruppāda*, *picture-producing*, *variegated*. In Buddhist literature there is a play upon the word *citta* in such an expression as *cittam cittato va cittataro*, ‘*mind is even more variegated or picturesque than a picture*.’ The alternative rendering and explanation suggested by Höernle is quite welcome.] N

7. Asāḍā vadhu susāne sigālā ñāti. RT
Asāḍā vadhu susāne sigālā ñāti. CT (15)

“The woman Āsāḍhā, the jackals in a funeral group (her) kinsman.” Tr

{C. p. 130; CI. 8 (Pls. XLVII. 9, LIII. 8)—the inscription alludes to the young girl and the jackals in a cemetery H. No. 9 and L. No. 697—translate *the woman Āsāḍhā who has observed the jackals on the cemetery*, here *sigālā* standing perhaps for *sigāle* (Acc. Pl.) and *ñāti* being the Sk. *jñātṛ*, from *√jñā* (to know).}

“The label may perhaps be taken to refer to a scene of a Jātaka-episode similar to one in the Asilakkhaṇa-Jātaka (F. No. 126).” E

[There can be little doubt that *Asaḍā* = *Āsāḍhā*, a name which is derived from a famous constellation of stars, and may be taken to mean *the burrow*. *Susāna*, Sk. *śmaśāna* is literally the *corpses’ lying-in ground*, a field or enclosure where dead bodies are thrown away, buried, exposed or cremated. Here it represents *the jackal-haunted charnel-field, where dead bodies were left unburnt* (Pāli *sinathikā*, *āmakasusāna* and Vedic *anagnidagdhacitā*, see Vedic Index, *sub voce* śmaśāna). *Ñāti* does not appear to be a verbal expression like *añāti*, *jānāti* meaning *knows, recognises*. It equates better with the Pāli *ñāti*, Sk. *jñāti* meaning *kinsman, relative*.] N

8. Secha-Jātaka[m]. BT (96)

Cf. Dubhiyamakkaṭṭa-Jātakaṃ [F. No. 174].

“A Jātaka-episode of water-drawing.”

Tr

{C. pp. 76, 131; CI. 15 (Pls. XLVI. 8, LIII. 15). Ho. No. 4. H. No. 15. L. No. 704—*secha*=*sekha* or *śaikṣa*.}

“The Birth-story in which the Bodhisat then born as a Brahmin drew water for a thirsty monkey and got for his pains nothing but grimace and ingratitude.” E

[*Secha* is not = Pāli *sekha* or *sekkha* but *śiṅca*, *seca*.] N

9. Asavārikāsa dānaṃ.¹

BT (197)

“The gift of a scene of the trooper.”

Tr

“The label refers to a scene of the Valāhassa-Jātaka (F. No. 136), where a compassionate flying horse is seen volunteering to convey certain merchants out of a goblin-city.” E

10. Dighatapasi sise anusāsati.

BT (198)

“The venerable ascetic trains his pupils.”

TR

{C. p. 130; CI. 3 (Pls. XLVIII. 4, LIII. 3)—*Digha-tapas*=a man of long penance, *i.e.*, a great ascetic, the reference perhaps being to the Jaina ascetic *Digha-tapassi*, mentioned in the Buddhist Upāli-Sutta; *isise*=female *Ṛṣis*, being the female disciples of *Dirghatapas*. II. No. 4. L. No. 692.}

“The label seems to refer to a scene of the story of the Mūlapariyāya-Jātaka (F. No. 245).” E

[Here *Dighatapassi* is a personal epithet rather than a name, while in the case of the *Nirgrantha Dighatapassi* mentioned in the Upāli-Sutta of the Majjhima-Nikāya it is a personal epithet used as a proper name, precisely like *Keṣi* of the Jaina Uttarādhyayana-Sūtra. The person referred to in the label has nothing to do with the Jaina recluse *Dighatapassī*. He seems to belong to the *Tāpasa* or hermit order. The adjective *digha*

¹ Extracted from the Votive Label (15).

implies seniority by age as well as by wisdom and experience ; a hermit of long standing, *i.e.*, of long experience. As regards *sīse*, we have nothing to add to Höernle's comments. The verbal expression *anusāsali* carries with it more the idea of admonition than that of simple instruction, *ovādāna* and *anusāsana* representing two aspects of *śīkṣā* or training, cf. the Pāli *ovādeyya anusāseyya*.] N

11. Nāga-Jātaka.

BT

Nāga-Jātakaṃ.

CT (199)

Cf. Kakkāṭa-Jātakaṃ [F. No. 266].

“The story of the Bodhisat's birth as an elephant.” TR

{C. pp. 52, 132 ; PI. 13 (Pls. XXV. 2, LII. 13). H. No. 32. L. No. 724.}

“The Bodhisat's marvellous feat of courage, skill and wisdom in destroying a monster crab during his elephant-birth.” E

12. Miga-samadakaṃ cetaya.

BT

Miga-saṃmadakaṃ cetiyaṃ.

CT (200)

Miga-samadakaṃ cetiyaṃ.

CT (200)

“The woodland shrine on an animal feeding-ground where the deer were molested.” TR

“The caitya on an animal feeding-ground.” TR

“The caitya on a grazing ground of the deer.” TR

“The caitya where the deer were devoured.” TR

{C. pp. 94, 131 ; CI. 10 (Pls. XLIII. 4, LIII. 10)—reads *samādaka*, *samadika*, *cetiya*, and translates “Deer and lions eating together *cetiya*.” Ho. No. 1—translates ‘the deer-crushing *caitya*.’ H. No. 11 and L. No. 699—translate ‘the *caitya* which gladdens the antelopes,’ *samadaka* being = *sammodaka*.}

“The label refers to a scene of the Vyaggha-Jātaka (F. No. 273).” E

[“*Miga-samadakaṃ* = *yattha*, *yasmim vanaśaṇḍe sīha-vyagghā nānāppakāre migo vadhitvā khūḍanti*” (Vyaggha-Jātaka): “The woodland where the

lions and tigers, or better, the tigers (acc. to original Jātaka), killed the deer for food.] N

13. Dusito giri dadati na.

BT (201)

Dukhito giri[m] dada[m]ti na.

BT (201)

Ayaṃ mam' antare dusseyyā ti ;
Succajaṃ vata naccaji vācāya adadaṃ giriṃ,
Kiṃ hi tass' acajantassa vācāya adada pabbatan ti ;
Tumhākaṃ dukkhitakāle araṇṇe samānasukhadukkhī [Succaja-Jātaka,
F. No. 320].

“The would-be rogue does not offer the hill.”

TR

“He did not offer the mountain to one who was afflicted when he was afflicted.”

TR

{C. p. 131 ; PI. 22, Frag. I. 18 (Pls. LIII. 22, Frag. 18). L. Nos. 711, 901—translates ‘*Dusita gives mount (Naḍḍa)*’ with a query after it.}

“The label seems to refer to a scene of the Succaja-Jātaka.”

E

[The first word which appears in C's eye-copy to be *dusito*, might perhaps be read also as *dukhito*, the Brāhmī letters for *s* and *kh* being in many respects similar. If the reading be *dusito*, it can be equated with the Pāli *dusseyya*, cf. *Gaṅgita*=*Gaṅgeyya*. If this equation be allowed, the word might be taken to mean ‘*the crown prince who was sent into exile in fear that he might offend his father.*’ If the word be *dukhito*, it might be taken to be a substantive in both Nominative and Accusative forms, meaning ‘*the good queen who shared the joys and sorrows of the crown prince when his condition was miserable.*’ *Dada na*=Pāli expression *adada* or *adadaṃ*.] N

14. Kaṇḍariki.

BT

Kaṇḍari-Ki[uarā].

FT (202)

Cf. Kaṇḍari-Jātakaṃ [F. No. 341].

Kaṇḍari Kinnarā [F. Vol. V, pp. 437-438].

“[A Jātaka-episode of] Kaṇḍari and Kinnarā.”

Tr

{C. p. 134 ; PI. 37 (Pls. XIV. 2, LIV. 37). Ho. No. 18. H. No. 55. L. No. 768.}

“The episode of king Kaṇḍari’s discovery of his favourite queen Kinnarā’s misconduct and ultimate discovery of the general depravity of woman’s nature by the wise suggestions of Pañcālacaṇḍa, his spiritual and temporal adviser.” E

15. Sujato-gahuto-Jataka.

BT

Sujāto-gohuto-Jātakam.

CT (203)

Cf. Sujāta-Jātakam [F. No. 352].

“The Birth-story where Sujāta is cow-feeder.”

TR

{C. pp. 77, 130; CI. 5 (Pls. XLVII. 3, LIII. 5)—*gahuto* = the bull-inviter. H. No. 6—*gahuto* = *grhītaḥ*, caught, seized, surprised or understood. L. No. 694—*gahuto* means mad. }

“The Bodhisat admonishes his father by feeding a dead cow that mourning does not bring the dead back into life.” E

[*Gohuto* is a compound similar to Sk. *gobhṛt* or Pāli *gobhato*, *gobhatako* meaning a cow-server or cow-feeder. Cunningham’s interpretation *gahuto* = *cow-inviter* is quite reasonable. The interpretation suggested by Hultzsch and Lüders *gahuto* = Sk. *grhītaḥ* is ingenuous but far-fetched and unconvincing.] N

16. Naḍodapāde dhenachako.

BT (204)

Cf. (Gaṅgātīre mahā nigrodharukkho) dhonasākho [F. Vol. III, pp. 157-158].

Dhonasākho’ti patthaṭṭasākho [F. Vol. III, p. 159].

“The trim-boughed (Banian-tree) at the foot of Mt. Naḍoda.” (?)

TR

{C. p. 137; PI. 70, 79 (Pl. LIV)—reads *dodapāpechena charo Naḍoda*; *pāde chena chako*. H. f. n. No. 43. L. Nos. 781, 791—reads *dhenachaka*. }

“The label appears to have referred to a scene of the Dhonasākha-Jātaka (F. No. 353).” E

[It is clear from the parallel quoted from the Jātaka that the expression *Naḍodapāde dhenachako* or *dhonasākho* corresponds to *nigodho Naḍode* (*passim*).] N

17. Daḍanikamo cakama.

BT

Daḍanikamo caṃkamo.

CT (205)

Cf. Daḥhanikkamo [Sutta-Nipāta, v. 68].

Daḥho nikkamo assāti daḥhanikkamo [Sutta-Nipāta-Comy on the Sutta No. 2].

“The walk wherefrom the egress is difficult.”

TR

{C. pp. 94, 130 ; CL 7 (Pls. XLVII. 7, LIII. 7)—reads *dadani-kamo*, renders ‘Punishment of works Region’: *cakama* or *cakra*=‘the place’; *daḍani*=*daṇḍani*, ‘of punishing’; *kamo*=*karma*, works—‘the place of punishment, or Hell,’ which is a division of the kosmos in which works receive their reward. II. No. 8. L. No. 696.}

“The label distinctly records a scene of the Uruga-Jātaka (F. No. 354).”

E

[As for *daḍa*=*daḥha* or *dr̥ḍha*, cf. *Virūḍaka*=*Virūḥha* or *Virūḍhaka*. The equation of *daḍa* with *daṇḍa*, as postulated by C, II and L can apparently be corroborated by the Barhut *Anūḍhapeḍika*=*Anūṭhapiṇḍika*. But here the loss of *ṃ* is compensated by the change of the preceding vowel *i* into *e*.] N

18. Laṭuvā-Jātaka.

BT

Laṭuvā-Jātakam.

CT (206)

Cf. Laṭukikā-Jātakam [F. No. 357].

“The story of the Bodhisat’s birth as Laṭuvā quail.”

TR

{C. pp. 58, 139 ; RI. 11 (Pls. XXVI. 1, LV). H. No. 109. L. No. 825.}

“The Jātaka-episode in which a quail of Laṭukikā species managed to kill a thoughtless elephant arrogantly trampling down its young ones.”

E

19. Biḍala-Jātara Kukuṭa-Jātaka.

BT

Biḍala-Jātakam-Kukuṭa-Jātakam.

CT (207)

Biḍala-kukuṭa-Jātakam.

CT (207)

Cf. Kukuṭa-Jātakam [No. 383].

“The cat and the cock in a Birth-story.”

Tr

{C. p. 130 ; CI. 6 (Pls. XLVII. 5, LIII. 6)—translates ‘the Cat Birth,’ ‘the Cock Birth.’ H. No. 7. L. No. 695.}

“The Birth-story in which the wise cock avoids the cat.”

E

[*Biḍala* or *biḍāla* is much more Sanskritic phonetically than the Pāli *biḷāra*. The repetition of the word *jātaka* in the label is well explained by Lüders’ suggestion that the Birth-story is intended by the sculptor to be designated either *Biḍāla-Jātaka* or *Kukuta-jātaka*.] N

20. Uda-Jātaka[m].

BT (208)

Cf. Dabbhapuppha-Jātakaṃ [F. No. 400].

“A Jātaka-episode of otters.”

Tr

{C. pp. 75, 131 ; CI. 14 (Pls. XLVI. 2, LIII)—translates *the Water Birth*. H. No. 14. L. No. 703.}

“The Jātaka-episode in which two otters are hoodwinked by a jackal as a result of asking and allowing the latter to equitably apportion their shares of a red fish killed by them.”

[*Uda* = Pāli *udā*, E. Bengal *ud* or *ut*, W. Bengal *bhodar*, English *otter*]. N

21. Vijapi Vijadharo.

BT

Vijapi Vijādharo.

CT (209)

Vijāpi Vijādharo.

CT (209)

Cf. Vijjādhara bahumāyā [F. Vol. III, p. 529].

Vijjādhara...vijjāṃ parivattetvā [F. Vol. III, pp. 303-304].

Vijjādhara vijjāṃ pariapitvā [F. Vol. III, p. 530].

Vijjādhara sannaddhakhaggo [F. Vol. III, p. 528].

“A Jātaka-episode of a spell-muttering Vidyādhara.” Tr

{C. p. 134 ; PI. 38 (Pls. XV. Side, LIV). Ho. No. 21—translates *the Vidyādhara unravelling (or unwinding his dress), the Vidyādhara and*

his queen *Vijalpi* (or *Vijalpikā*). H. No. 56—*vijapi*=*vidyāvin*. I. No. 749—*vijapi*=*vijāyin*.}

“The Jātaka-episode as in the Samugga-Jātaka (F. No. 436), of a Vidyādhara’s love with a lovely damsel in a Dānava’s keep and his safety by virtue of his spells and weapon.” E

[*Vijapi* is either *vijappi* or *vijalpi* meaning mutterer, or *vijāvi* or *vidyāvin* meaning one possessed of knowledge. *Vijalpa* is the name of a malevolent spirit (Petersberg’s Dict.) Here *vijjā* or *vidyā* means *mantra* (charms) and other black arts. The *Vidyādhara*s are said to be a kind of semihuman beings, possessing the knowledge of magic arts, and resident in the Himālaya mountains (Ho). In the Dhajaviheṭṭha-Jātaka (F. No. 391) the *vidyādhara* is described as a being given by night to dalliance and seduction, and accustomed to perform by day penances by way of atonement in a cremation ground, standing on one leg while saluting the sun. In the Samugga-Jātaka, he is also said to be capable of flying through the air by the power of his spells, being armed with a sword=(*khadga*). The Vāyu-Purāṇa Ch. LXIX enumerates three original *gaṇas* of *vidyādhara*s: the *Śaiveya*, the *Vikrānta* and the *Saumanasa*, all descended from *Viśrava*s, their common ancestor. These three *gaṇas* gave afterwards rise to several *gaṇas* of *vidyādhara*s of the *Vyomacāri* class. Altogether one hundred *gaṇas* are said to have been famous in the world.] N

22. Abode *cātiyaṃ*.

BT(210)

“At the watering trough.”

Tr

{C. pp. 94, 130; CI. 4 (Pls. XLVII. 6, LIII)—translates—“the mango-tree *cāitya*,” Ho. No. 7—*cātiyaṃ* is a mere mason’s error for *celiyaṃ*; *Abode* is a Loc. Sing. of *Aboda*, *Abbuda*, or Sk. *Arbuda*, the name of the holy mount *Abu*, where, acc. to Col. Tod, the mango is abundant. H. No. 5 and L. No. 693—translate, following Ho, the *cāitya* on mount *Arbuda*.}

“The label evidently records a scene of the Mātiposaka-Jātaka (F. No. 455).” E

[The whole construction is apparently in Locative. If *cātiyaṃ* be regarded as a mere clerical mistake or mason’s error for *celiyaṃ*, the Locative construction becomes untenable, and the Nominative construction, too, becomes inconsistent, unless *abode* or *ambode* be construed as an

instance of Māgadhism, *i.e.*, as a Nominative Singular form with the case-ending *e*. The construction is analogous to *Naḍode parate*, which is definitely a Locative expression. *Cātiyaṃ* is not a mistake for *ceṭiyaṃ* but the Locative Singular of *cāti*, Pāli *cāti*, meaning a water-receptacle or trough. The interpretation of *aboda* or *amboda* as 'water-supplying' is corroborated by the water-line of the sculpture, lying just below the tree which looks like a *caitya*."] N

23. Kinnara-Jātakaṃ.

BT (211)

Cf. Takkāriya-Jātakaṃ [F. No. 461].

"A Jātaka-episode of the Kinnaras."

Tr

{C. pp. 69, 131; CI. 12 (Pls. XXVII. 12, LIII). H. No. 12. L. No. 701.}

"This label is attached to a scene which corresponds to the episode of the Kinnaras in the Takkāriya-Jātaka." E

[The *Kinnaras* are represented in the Jātaka and Avadāna stories as a kind of beings with a human form, who are very sportful, tender-hearted, bashful and nervous. They are said to be dwellers of the Himalayan mountains, and noted for their conjugal love and fidelity. They are classed among the animals (*tiracchāna-gatā* or *migā*), fit to be shut up in a cage, in spite of the fact that they could talk like human beings.¹ The Vāyu-Purāṇa traces the descent of the *Kinnaras* from *Vikrānta*, a powerful *Gandharva* king and broadly classes them as Horse-faced (*Āśvamukha*) and Human-faced (*Naramukha*), opining that the latter class is superior to the former one. The *Kinnaras* of the latter class are said to belong to the Lunar race (*Candravaṃśīya*). The Purāṇa enumerates some *gaṇas* or clans under each class.² The *Kinnaras* are described as experts in the art of dancing and singing]. N

24. Miga-Jātakaṃ.

BT (212)

Cf. Ruru-Jātakaṃ [F. No. 482].

"The story of the Bodhisat's birth as a deer."

Tr

¹ Fausbøll Jātaka, IV, p. 252; IV, p. 442.

² Vāyu-Purāṇa, LXIX. 31-37.

{C. pp. 51, 133; PI. 19 (Pls. XXV. 1, LIII). H. No. 37. L. No. 730.}

“The Birth-story in which the Bodhisat then born as a deer saved himself and others of his race by virtue of a boon of safety granted by a king, and thereby frustrated the aim of a rich spend-all, whose life was once saved by him and who in return of this persuaded the king to kill him.” E

25. Bhisaharaniya-Jātaka[m]. BT (213)

Cf. Bhisajātakaṃ [F. No. 488].

“A Jātaka-episode of lotus-fibre-stealing.” Tr

{C. pp. 79, 131; CI. 17; (Pls. XLVIII. 7, LIII). H. No. 17. L. No. 706.}

“The Birth-story in which Śakra tested the virtue of the Bodhisat then born as Mahākāñcana Kumāra and his brothers and others by puzzling them by stealing the Bodhisat’s share of the lotus-fibres.” E

[The above title of the Jātaka, like *Maghādeviya*, is ungrammatical. The correct form would be *Bhisaharaṇa*.] N

26. (a) Bahuhathiko. BT (214)

(b) Bahuhathiko nigodho Naḍode. BT (215)

(c) Susupālo koḍāyo Veḍuko arāmakō. BT

(d) Susupālo koḍāyo Veḍuko ārāmiko.¹ CT (216)

(a) “Bahuhastika—characterised by the presence of a number of elephants.” Tr

(b) “The banian tree on (Mt.) Naḍoda, having a number of elephants worshipping it.” Tr

(c) “Siśupāla, the fort-keeper. Veṇuka, the gardener.” Tr

{C. pp. 45, 115, 135; PI. 43-45 (Pls. XV. Inner Face, XXX. 2, LIV), L. Nos. 754-756.}

¹ Cf. *Kālo rājabhṛātā Rambhako ārāmikaḥ*. Divyāvadānu, p. 160.

"The labels may be taken to refer to the scene of a definite story, similar perhaps to one in the Mahāvāṇija-Jātaka (F. No. 493), in which Śisupāla, the fort-keeper, was led by Veṇuka, the gardener, to a Banian Caitya on Mt. Naḍoda, worshipped by a herd of elephants." E

[*Koḍāya* or *Koḍya* may be = *Koḍṛ-rāja* or *kottarāja*, the ruler of a fort or fortified place. *Koḍya* occurs in the Lalita-Vistara (Ch. XV) as the name of a country and that of a people, cf. Pāli Koliya: "atikramya Śākyān, atikramya Koḍyān."] N

27. Chadamtiya-Jātakaṃ.

BT (217)

Cf. Chaddanta-Jātakaṃ [F. No. 514].

"The story about the Bodhisat's birth as six-tusked (elephant)." Tr

{C. pp. 61 f., 837; PI. 74 (Pls. XXVI. 6, LIV). H. No. 85. L. No. 785.}

"The Birth-story in which a queen brought death on herself as a result of her relentless vengeance on an elephant with six tusks, her wise husband in a previous birth." E

[*Chadamta* = *Ṣaḍḍant*, a hybrid form, the *Ākulika* class of elephants. The *Ṣaḍḍantus* are characterised by their elongated lower lips, charming looks, black colour, handsomeness, august shape and broad face.] N

28. Isisimgiya Jātaka[m].

BT (218)

Cf. *Rṣyaśṛṅga-Upākhyānam* [Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata].
Ekaśṛṅgāvadānam [Avadānakalpalatā].

"The story regarding the Bodhisat's birth as Rṣyaśṛṅga—the Horned Sage." Tr

{C. pp. 64; (PI. XXVI-7). H. No. 156. L. No. 802.}

*
1 Vāyu-Purāṇa, LXIX, Verse 222: lambōṣṭhaś cārudarśinah
Śyāmaḥ sudarśanaś caṇḍānanāpīṇḍāyatānamah.

“The Birth-story in which the Bodhisat is represented as a horned sage, born of a doe, who proved himself to be a true hero by thwarting the efforts of an artful princess who came to tempt and seduce him.” E

[Cunningham has very rightly pointed out that the title of the Birth-story as given in the Barhut label is unknown in Ceylon. In the Pāli Jātaka-Commentary, the Birth-story has been inopportunately split up into two portions, each bearing the title of a separate Jātaka, viz., Alambusā-Jātaka (F. No. 523) and Nalinikā-Jātaka (F. No. 526). The Lokottaravāda version of the second portion—the Nalinikā-story, is to be found in the Mahāvastu as well as in Nalinikāvadāna of the Avadāna-kalpalatā. The curious legend about the birth of the Bodhisat seems to have resulted from a fantastic interpretation of his name *Isisimṅga*, Sanskritised apparently in accordance with the popular fantasy as *Rajyāśṛṅga*, the Horned Sage, or as *Ekāśṛṅga*, the One-horned. *Isisimṅga* was probably an epithet signifying the high position of its bearer among the *Rṣis*, the towering figure among the sages]. N

29. Usu [kāro] Janako rāja Sivala devi. BT

Usukāro Janako rājā Sivalā devi. CT (219)

“The arrow-maker. King Janaka. Queen Sivali.” Tr

{C. pp. 95, 131; CI. 20 (Pls. XLIV. 2, LIII). Ho. No. 2. H. No. 20. JRAS, 1912, p. 405; ZDMG. 40, p. 60. L. No. 709.}

“The Jātaka-episode, like one in the Mahājanaka-Jātaka (F. No. 539), in which the Bodhisat born as King Mahājanaka derived a grand moral truth from an arrow-maker’s habit of looking with one eye and closing the other while straightening an arrow in presence of Queen Sivali who followed him with a view to preventing him from becoming an ascetic.” E

30. Vitura-Punakiya-Jātakam. BT (220)

Cf. Vidhura-Paṇḍita-Jātakam [F. No. 545].

“The Jātaka-episode about Vidūra and Pūrṇaka.” Tr

{C. pp. 79, 173 ; Pl. 75 (Pls. XVIII. 2, LIV)—also reads *Punakaya*.
Ho. No. 86. H. No. 86. L. No. 786}.

“The episode illustrating Vidūra’s unsurpassed wisdom in frustrating the designs of Pūrṇaka to kill him and teaching the ideals of Dharma even at the risk of his life.” E

[*Vitura* of the label is evidently no other than the Bodhisat *Vidhura-Kumāra* or *Vidhura-Paṇḍita* of the *Vidhura-Paṇḍita-Jātaka* and the wise *Vidūra* of the Great Epic. The name of *Vidhuru* or *Vidhūra* occurs in some four Jātakas, viz., *Vidhura-Paṇḍita* (F. No. 545), *Dhūmakūri* (F. No. 413), *Dasa-brāhmaṇa* (F. No. 495) and *Sambhava* (F. No. 515). In all but the last he is described as the hero, i. e., as the Bodhisat who served as a councillor and a teacher of law, morals and polity in the court of the Kuru-king Dhanañjaya of the Kuru kingdom, belonging to the family of Yudhiṣṭhira, while in the last or *Sambhava-Jātaka* he is represented as the *Purohita* of the king of Benares. It is the Commentary Jātakas that make this distinction between two *Vidhuras*; the Canonical ballads however seem to refer only to one *Vidhura*. It is strange indeed that the Canonical and the Commentary versions of the Birth-stories differ in certain important details of *Vidhura’s* life. The Commentary versions seek to describe him as a Brahmin and the son of a Brahmin, while the Canonical versions tend to represent him as a Kuru-councillor holding the status of a noble of the royal family of the *Kurus*, though born in a natural state of servitude. In this respect the Canonical account shows an agreement with the Epic. All the accounts, whether Buddhist or Brahmanical, in spite of their differences on certain points, describe him as a man of sound moral principles and charming personality, leading literally a life of plain living and high thinking, and respected by all the princes and peoples of his time for his sanity, wisdom, foresight, character and solicitude for the good of all. The difference between the spellings of his name calls for an explanation. The spelling *Vitura* of the label stands phonetically nearer the Epic-*Vidūra* than the Pāli *Vidhura* or *Vidhūra*. Although some of the manuscripts of the Jātaka-Commentary contain the spelling *Vidura*, the correctness of the spelling *Vidhura* is vouchsafed by the Commentary’s play upon it, explaining it in the sense of *asama-dhura*, ‘one of

*unparalleled wisdom and ability.*¹ The name *Vidūra*, on the other hand, is sought to be derived from *√vid* (to know) and explained in the sense of a wise man. One must admit that both the derivations ultimately come to the same thing. But this does not clear up the mystery about the original name or epithet of the Bodhisat. Höernle suggests that the Pāli *Vidhura* presupposes an earlier spelling, such as *Vithura*. This would no doubt sound very strange that *Vithura* was the epithet of so highly revered a teacher in view of the fact that it means in Sanskrit a demon, a thief, a nightranger. It may however be noted that *Vidhura* as he figures in the Dasa-Brāhmaṇa-Jātaka, advocates an opinion about the Brahmins of his time which could not be relished by them. And what is the usual way of the Brahmins? In the Great Epic they have turned a *Parivrājaka* of the *Trilokya* class, a best of Brahmins, having the moral courage to criticise king *Yudhiṣṭhira*'s conduct, into a *cārvāka* or 'men-eater demon,' because his opinion ran counter to their personal interest. They have represented the seer *Kaśapa* as a *Śūdra* because he had the courage to question the moral and spiritual value of hymn-chanting and sacrifice. They have described the *Śākya*s, the *Ājīvikas* and such other recluses as *Vṛṣalas* or *Śūdrapravrajitas* because they ordained even the *Śūdras* in disregard of their *cāturvarṇya* ideal.² Instances need not be multiplied, for the cases here cited suffice to show how contemptuously they have handled persons holding an opinion or following a path different from or contrary to theirs. They were compelled even against their will to accept the Buddha as an *avatāra* because this was found to be the best way of keeping people on their side. It is conceivable that in the same way they had to give the Bodhisat a redeeming name *Vidūra*, the wise, and invent an etymology to explain it so, when in the course of time his ideals were widely accepted. The Buddhists who welcomed his ideals helped this process of regeneration by representing him not as a *Vithura* but a *Vidhura*. At any rate, this seems to be the only plausible explanation of the difference of spellings of his name.] N.

¹ Cf. Fausbøll, Vol. VI, p. 263 : *asama-dhurassa Vidhurassa*.

² Paramatthajotikā, II, p. 175 : *Vasale vā pubbājetvā tehi saddhiṃ ekato sambhogapari-bhogakaraṇena patito ayaṃ vasalato pi pāpataro ti jigucchanto vasalakā ti āha. Vasala-jātikānaṃ vā āhutiḍassanamattasavaṇena pāpaṃ hoti ti maññamāno evam āha.*

31. Mugapakaya-Jātaka.

BT

Mugapakiya-Jātakaṃ.¹

CT (221)

Cf. Mūgapakkha-Jātakaṃ [F. No. 538].

Temiya-Cariyā [Cariyā-Piṭaka].

Temiya-Jātakaṃ [Pagan heading].

“The story about the Bodhisat’s part as mūkapakva or mūkapakṣa.” Tr

{C. pp. 58, 138, PI. 94 (Pls. XXV. 4, LV). H. No. 155. L. No. 807.}

“The Birth-story in which the Bodhisat Prince Temiya explains the wisdom in the vow of dumbness for which he suffered much.” E

[*mugapaka* = *mūgapakka*, meaning ‘dumb but ripe’; or = *mūgapakkha*, meaning, ‘one on the side of the dumb,’ ‘one explaining why he did not speak at all.’] N

32. Jabū Naḍode pavate.

BT

Jambū Naḍode pavate.

CT (222)

“The rose-apple trees on Mt. Naḍoda or Naḍoda-Pavata”. Tr

{C. pp. 98, 131; CI. 19 (Pls. XLVIII. 11, LIII). Ho. No. 9. H. No. 19. L. No. 708. All read *Jabu*.}

“The Jātaka-episode, like one in the Vessantara-Jātaka (F. No. 547), in which the Bodhisat then born as Viśvantara is represented as giving away his children to a begging Brahmin in absence of his wife, who on her return was lamenting over the loss of her sons, playing no more together under the rose-apple and other trees :—

*Ime te jambukā rukkhū vedisā sindhuvāritā,
Vividhā rukkhajātāni, te kumārā na dissare.”* (?) E

¹ This ought to have been placed before two preceding labels.

[Höernle's suggestion that the first word of the label refers to the *Jambu* tree wherefrom the *Jambudvīpa* or India derived its name cannot be entertained for this twofold reason : (1) that the correct reading of the first word is not *Jabu* but *Jabū*, and as such it does not mean one *Jambu* tree but many ; (2) that the Buddhist legends about *Jambu* tree and *Jambudvīpa* do not explain the presence of the three human figures in the bas-relief. The word *Jabū* or *Jambū* exactly correspond to *Jambukā*, which might be taken as a catch-word of the verses expressing the lamentation of *Viśvantara's* wife.] N

H. Jātaka
Labels re-
lating to
scenes ba-
sed upon
stories ont-
side Paus-
böll's Jātaka.

1. Vaḍuko katha[m] dohati Naḍode pavate. BT (223)
“Vaḍuka milks the plant for a juicy balm on Mt. Naḍoda
or Naḍoda-Pavata.” Tr

{C. pp. 98, 131 ; CI. 18 (Pls. XLVIII. 9, LIII)—dohati = ‘milks’ ; pavate = ‘a continuous flow or stream.’ Ho. No. 8—suggests Naḍoda is probably a proverbial expression founded on a story like the Nalapāna-Jātaka. H. No. 18—reads *Veḍuko*. L. No. 707.}

“The Birth-story in which a juicy balm had to be procured by Śakra, the thunder-bearer, from a Himalayan mountain Naḍoda (Nālada, Nārada or Gandhamādana) for the skin-disease of Vaḍuka, Vaṭuka or Vaḍika, the Bodhisat.” E

[*Vaḍuka* of the label may be well equated with *Vaḍika* of the Vaḍika-Vastu (Avadāna-Śataka). If the reading *Vajika* be accepted, it may be interpreted as an epithet of Śakra, the thunder-wielder. *Katha* is probably *Kṣīrikām oṣadhi* of the Vaḍika-Vastu. *Naḍoda* seems to equate with *Nālada* or *Nārada*, and is obviously used as a synonym for *Gandhamādana*, *nala* or *nalada* meaning a scented plant or mineral. It is somewhat difficult to ascertain whether the label refers to one mount *Naḍoda*, or two mountains *Naḍoda* and *Pavata* (*ubho Nārada-Pabbatū*), or one mountain with two peaks.¹ The Vessantara-Jātaka (F. No. 547)

¹ According to the Purāṇas, Nārada was the name of one mountain and Nārada and Parvata were two offshoots thereof.

*Parvate Nārade pūrvaṃ retaḥ skannaṃ Prajāpatiḥ,
Parvatatatra sambhūto Nāradaścaiva tābubhan.*

Vāyu, LXIX. 74.

mentions Mts. *Gandhara* or *Gandhamādana*, *Nārada* and *Parvata* in connection with the *Vaṅka* or *Vakra* mountain. *Vessantara* or *Viśrantara* is said to have lived in the heart of the *Vakra* range (*Vaṅkapabbata-kucchimi*), where evidently two mounts *Nārada* and *Parvata* were situated.¹ This part of the range is also referred to as *Gandhamādana-śaila*,² although there are verses in which *Gandhamādana* is mentioned as a mountain closely situated on the way to the *Vaṅka* or *Vakra* mountain.³ The probable explanation is that the range was either called *Vakra* or *Gandhamādana* of which *Gandhamādana*, *Vakra*, *Nārada*, *Parvata*, and the rest were separate mountains. So one need not be surprised that the Barhut labels invariably designate the mountain as *Naloda* or *Naloda-Parvata* instead of *Gandhamādana* of the Jātaka and Avadāna stories.] N

2. 'Tikoṭiko cakamo.

BT(224)

"The triangular resort."

Tr

{C. pp. 25, 135-136 ; Pl. 54 (Pls. XXVII. 1, LIV)—suggests that the inscription is attached to a representation of the Nāgaloka region of snakes and elephants (both called *nāga*) which was situated under the Trikuṭa rocks supporting Mount Meru. H. No. 68. L. No. 765.}

"The label is attached to a Jātaka-scene in which the Bodhisat then born as a king of elephants is in a position to drive away the lions from the spot or to the scene of a triangular lake guarded by dragons, elephants and lions." E

[*Tikoṭika* can undoubtedly be equated with *Traikūṭa*, the three-peaked. Here *koṭi* means an extremity or arm, and not a peak. But it cannot be denied that the scene is laid in a forest region where the elephants had the chance of coming in contact with lions and tigers.] N

3. Himan(i).

BT

Himāni-caṃkamo. (?)

CFT (225)

"The snowy resort." (?)

Tr

"The label is attached to a scene (Cunningham's Pl. XXXV. 2) of which the story is unknown." E

¹ Fausböhl, Jātaka, VI. p. 563.

² Ibid, p. 524.

Ibid, pp. 518, 529.

ADDENDA & CORRIGENDA

CT (1).—*Read Āgarajusa for Agarajusa.*

Read silākamṃanto for silākamṃto.

BT (15).—*Read Bibikānadikaṭa for Bibikānadikaṭa.*

Read asavārikāsa for asavārikasa.

BT (25).—*Read Bhikhuniya for Bhikuniya.*

BT (43).—*Read Sakāya thabho dānaṃ.*

BT (43)

“The pillar-gift of Śakrā.”

Tr

[C. p. 138 ; PI 90 (Pl. LIV). L. No. 803.] N

*Take out Pusadātaye Nagarikaye bhichuniye and
rearrange it as follows :—*

41 (a). Pusadātaye Nagarikaye bhichuniye.

BT

Pusadātāya Nāgarikāya bhichuniyā dānaṃ.

FT (41a)

“The gift of Puṣyadattā, the nun of Nāgarī.”

Tr

[C. p. 138 ; PI. 93 (Pl. LIV). L. No. 806.] N

P. 17. *Add* 46. Soyāya dāna thabho.

BT

Seyāya dānaṃ thabho.

CT (48a)

“The gift of Śreyā (Śriyā)—a pillar.”

Tr

[C's original photograph of a Rail-pillar belonging to S.W. Quadrant.] N

BT (89). *Translate* “The gift of Kañculā, the wife of [some gentleman whose name is effaced].”

BT (99). *Count* (99 a, b).

BT (108). *Alternative reading* Siriyāputasa.

BT (161). *Read* Anādhapeḍiko for Anadhapeḍiko.

BT (183). *Read* Yakhini Sudasanā.

BT (183)

“The Yakṣiṇī Sudarsanā.”

Tr



ADDENDA AND CORRIGENDA

(Continued)

Add to (5) Notes : “ *Na tveva āryeṣu dāsabhāvaḥ.*”

Kauṭilya Arthaśāstra, Dāsakalpa.

“ *Ayiro hi dāsassa janinda issaro.*”

“ *Ayiro ti Ayiro sāmi.*”

Jātaka, Vol. VI, p. 300.

BT (160)—*Translate* “The matted-hair ascetics’ dwelling-hall.”

“The label records a scene of the Indasamānagotta
(F. 161) or that of the Mittāmita-Jātaka
(F. 177).” E

Add to BT (171) Notes : “ *Yakkhā...yuddhasoṇḍā.*”

Jātaka, Vol. I, p. 204.

Add 31 (a). Yavamajhakiyaṃ Jātakam.

BT (221).

“The Jātaka-episode with reference to Yavama-
dhyaka.” TR

{C. p. 136 ; Pl. 58 (Pls. XXV. 3, LIV). H. No. 72. L. No. 810.}

“The episode in which the Bodhisat Mahau-
ṣadha is said to have displayed ready wit
and power of judgment at Yavamadhyaka.
Mahāummagga-Jātaka (F. 546).”



MATHURA PILLAR INSCRIPTION

OF

DHANABHŪTI II.

[Based upon Cunningham's eye-copy.]

Kape¹ Dhana

Bhūtisa VātsI.

putrasa [Vādhapā] lasa

Dhanabhūtisa dānaṃ vedikā

torañāni² ca ratanagrha sāva

Budhapujāya sahā mātāpi-

tāhi sahā³ catu [hi] parisāhi.⁴

".....the gift of VātsIputra Vṛddhapāla Dhanabhūti, [descendant] of Dhanabhūti—cubical seats, gateways and jewel-house, all for the worship of the Buddha, together with mother and father, together with four divisions (of Buddhists)."

"In this inscription all the letters have got the mātṛā's, or heads, which are found in the legends of the silver coins of Amoghabhūti, Dāra Ghoṣa, and Varmmika."⁵

Cunningham takes this Dhanabhūti to be Dhanabhūti II, son of Vādhapāla, mentioned in one of the Barhut inscriptions as son of King Dhanabhūti, *i.e.*, of Dhanabhūti I. Cunningham records that he obtained two copper coins of Agaraja, father of Dhanabhūti, one at Sugh, the old capital of Śrughna, and the other at Kauśāmbī, the coins of Amoghabhūti, king of the Kuniṇḍas, were found most plentifully along the upper Jumna. He also possessed two coins of king Balabhūti. Both of these princes were probably successors of Dhanabhūti II.

^{1.} Stūpa of Bharhut, pp. 16, 130, and Pl. LIII—*kapa, kala* ; *torañā, torañānāṃ* ; *ki saha, haisāhara* ; *parasahi, pariaki*.

^{2.} *Ibid*, pp. 16-17, 130.

NOTES

SECTION III

NOTES

I. ON PALEOGRAPHY.

(1) *Letters as Masons' Marks.*

Four Kharoṣṭhī letters found engraved as the masons' private marks on bases and capitals of the balusters of the ornamental arch of the E. Gateway are *p*, *s*, *a* and *b*, of which the first three occur twice. These may be, as suggested by Cunningham, the initials of words denoting numerals, viz., *p*=*pañca*, *five*; *s*=*sata*, *seven*; *a*=*aṭha*, *eight*; *b*=*bārasa*, *twelve* (= *ba*, *two*, acc. to Cunningham).

Twenty-seven marks found on different parts of the Great Railing are all Brāhmī letters.

The conclusion drawn from this is that the artists employed on the arch of the E. Gateway must have hailed from a N.W. region, where Kharoṣṭhī was the prevalent script, and the artists employed on the Railing itself must have belonged to other parts of India, where the prevalent script was Brāhmī.¹

(2) *Letters in Inscriptions.*

A. Gateway Inscriptions.—Some of the typical Brāhmī letters, carefully engraved on the four faces of two outer octagons in a lower pillar of the E. Gateway by the Western artists, whose script was Kharoṣṭhī, are shown below :—

A = 𑀅 : Two arms of different shape do not meet on the vertical but leave a proportionately large intervening space. Its development can be traced from the Aśokan form in Bühler's Table II, Siddapur (xii), and compared with *A* in Besnagar PI, Chanda's Pl. II, Sanchi Stûpa I and II Inscriptions, Chanda's Pls. III and IV, and Hāthigumphā and Nānāghāt Cave Inscriptions, Bühler's T. II (xxi, xxiv).

¹ Stûpa of Bharhut, p. 8.

$K = \text{†}$. A hanging sword, a cross or a plus-sign with the elongated lower part of the vertical line. It compares favourably with K in Besnagar PI, Chanda's Pl. II, Sanchi Stûpa I Inscriptions, Chanda's Pl. III, and Hâthigumphā, Bühler's T. II (xxi).

$G = \cap$. Markedly rounded top instead of a sharp angle. Its development can be traced from Aśokan forms in Bühler's T. II. Delhi (iv), and Siddapur (xi, xii), and compared with G in Sanchi Stûpa II Inscriptions, Chanda's Pl. IV (8-9). Compare the later forms in Bühler's T. II (xxi-xxiv), particularly the Mathura form (xx).

$Ch = \text{⌢}$. A closed curve bisected by a vertical with a faint tendency to form a two-looped butterfly. Its development can be traced from the Aśokan form in Bühler's T. II. Jaugada (vii). It is similar to Ch in Sanchi Stûpa I. Inscriptions, Chanda's Pl. III (1-2), and to Ch in Mathurā, Bühler's T. II (xx).

$J = \text{E}$. Two curves of different shape meet in a line. Its development can perhaps be traced from the Aśokan form in Bühler's T. II. Kalsi (ii). Compare J in Hâthigumphā, Bühler's T. II (xxi-xxii).

$T = \text{Λ}$. A vertical on a sharp angle, the vertical appearing to be continuous with the elongated left arm. Its development can be traced from the Aśokan form in Bühler's T. II. Delhi (iv), and it compares favourably with T in Sanchi Stûpa I and II Inscriptions, Chanda's Pls. III, IV, and Mathura in Bühler's T. II (xx).

$D = \text{⌢}$. Two verticals joined by a half square. Its development can be traced from Aśokan forms in Bühler's T. II. Delhi (iv, v). It compares favourably with D in Besnagar PI, Chanda's Pl. II, Sanchi Stûpa I and II Inscriptions, Chanda's Pls. III, IV, and Mathurā in Bühler's T. II (xx).

$P = \text{U}$. The lower part approaching the printed English capital U . Its development can be traced from the Aśokan form in Bühler's T. II. Delhi (iv). It compares favourably with P in Besnagar PI, Chanda's Pl. II, Sanchi Stûpa I and II Inscriptions, Chanda's Pls. III and IV, and differs from the perfect U form in Sanchi Gateway Inscriptions, Chanda's Pl. VI.

$Bh = \text{r|}$. Two right verticals above and below the horizontal upper line of Aśokan Bh meet in a straight line with the markedly elongated lower part.

$R = \mid \mid$. A cork-screw-like lightning form tending to be straight and sword-shaped. Its development can be traced from R in Aśokan Inscriptions and Besnagar PI. It compares favourably with R in Sanchi Stūpa I and II Inscriptions, Chanda's Pls. III, IV, and Mathurā in Bühler's T. II. (xx).

$V = \delta$. High circular lower part. Its development can be traced from the Aśokan form in Bühler's T. II. Siddapur (xiii). It compares favourably with V in Besnagar PI, and Sanchi Stūpa I and II Inscriptions.

$S = \cup$. The Gateway P with a tail composed of a perfect semicircle. Its development can be traced from the Aśokan form in Bühler's T. II. Jaugada (vi). It compares favourably with S in Besnagar PI, Chanda's Pl. II, Sanchi Stūpa I and II Inscriptions, Chanda's Pls. III, IV.

B. Coping Inscriptions.—Some of the typical Brāhmī letters, engraved in varying degree of carefulness on the rectangular blocks above some of the Coping-panels by different sculptors apparently of the same period are as follows:—

$A = \lambda$. Two arms forming a sharp angle on the vertical, the lower arm being continuous with a vertical. Somewhat similar to the Aśokan form in Bühler's T. II. Girnar (x).

$A = \gamma$. Two uniform arms making an angle on the vertical. An inverted Eran form in Bühler's T. II. (i).

$A = \lambda$. Two uniform arms making a wide angle on a short horizontal meeting the vertical. Similar to Aśokan forms in Bühler's T. II. Girnar (x).


$A = \cup$. Two arms of different shape meet the vertical, leaving a small space between them; cf. Aśokan form in Bühler's T. II. Siddapur (xii), A in Hāthigumphā, Bühler's T. II. (xxi).


$K = +$. A cross-shaped plus-sign, the horizontal and the vertical intercrossing each other in the middle. Perfectly Aśokan, Bühler's T. II.


$G = \wedge$. A sharp angle with the right arm slightly curved and convex. Similar to the Aśokan form in Bühler's T. II. Girnar (viii). It compares favourably with G in Besnagar PI and Sanchi Rail Inscriptions, Chanda's Pls. I-IV.


$G = \cap$. Two convex arms forming a sharp angle. Perfectly similar to the Aśokan form in Bühler's T. II. Kalsi (iii).


$G = \cap$. A slightly rounded top An exceptional form similar to G in Bühler's T. II. Daśaratha (xvii).


Ch = . A high-curved ellipse bisected by a vertical. Similar to the Aśokan *Ch* in Bühler's T. II. Jaugada (vii), to Mathurā *Ch* in Bühler's T. II. (xx). Compare Sanchi forms, Chanda's Pl. III. Nos. 1, 12.


J = . A vertical crescent bisected by a short horizontal. An accidental form resembling Aśokan *Tā* in Bühler's T. II. Kalsi (ii), Delhi (iv) Mathurā *Tā* in Bühler's T. II. (xx).


J = . The forms approach the printed English capital E. Compare the Aśokan form in Bühler's T. II. Kalsi (ii). Bhaṭṭiprolu *J* in Bühler's T. II (viii).


J = . Two vertical curves meet in a horizontal. Similar to Aśokan forms in Bühler's T. II. Jaugada (vi-vii).


Jā = . *J* with a prolonged horizontal stroke in the upper half.


T = . A sharp angle with an upper vertical. Similar to Aśokan form in Bühler's T. II. Girnar (ix), and Mathurā *T* in Bühler's T. II. (xx).


T = . A sharp angle with the elongated left arm. Its development can be traced from the Aśokan form in Bühler's T. II. Girnar (x). Compare Mathurā *T* in Bühler's T. II. (xx).

T = . A slightly rounded form. Perfectly similar to the Aśokan form in Bühler's T. II. Kalsi (ii).

D = . See the Gateway form. Similar to Aśokan forms in Bühler's T. II. Delhi (iv-v).

P = . A vertical continuous with a lower sharp curve. The form is perfectly Aśokan.

Bh =  Two right verticals of Aśokan *Bh*, with equal length, merging in a straight line. It compares favourably with some of the letters in Sanchi Rail Inscriptions, Chanda's Pl. III. Nos. 2, 10, 11. The Aśokan *Bh* where the two right verticals form an angle, lingers in Besnagar Pl. Chanda's Pl. II, and the form where two right verticals remain above and below the horizontal with a short intervening space, lingers in some of the Sanchi Rail-pillar Inscriptions, Chanda's Pl. III. No. 8.

Y = . A vertical upon a horizontal crescent. Similar to Aśokan forms in Bühler's T. II. Kalsi (ii, iii), Girnar (viii, x), and to *Y* in Besnagar Pl. Chanda's Pl. II.

$Y = \text{卐}$. A vertical upon a high-curved horizontal. Similar to Aśokan forms in Bühler's T. II. Siddapur (xi-xii). It compares very favourably with Y in Sanchi Rail Inscriptions, Chanda's Pl. IV.

$Y = \text{卐}$. Anchor-shaped. An exceptional form, the development of which can be traced from the Aśokan form in Bühler's T. II. Delhi (iv-v). Similar to the Aśokan form in Bühler's T. II. Jaugada (vii) and Hathigumpha Y in Bühler's T. II. (xzi-xxi).

$R = \text{卐}$. A straight vertical with equally thick ends. The type appears to be peculiarly Barhut.

$V = \text{卐}$. A vertical on a circle or a rounded curve tending to be triangular. The form stands near to Aśokan forms in Bühler's T. II. Kalsi (ii-iii), Delhi (iv-v), Jaugada (vi), Girnar (viii) and Siddapur (xi-xii).

$V = \text{卐}$. See Gateway form.

$S = \text{卐}$. A Coping P with a tail composed of a shorter horizontal continuous with a straight vertical. Exactly like the Aśokan form in Bühler's T. II. Siddapur (xi).

$S = \text{卐}$. The angular tail formed by two slanting arms of equal length. It stands near to Aśokan forms in Bühler's T. II. Kalsi (ii), and Jaugada (vi).

$H = \text{卐}$. A Coping P continuous with a short horizontal. See Gateway form.

C. Rail-Pillar, Rail-Bar, Rail-Panel and Rail-Medallion Inscriptions—
The following are some of the typical Brāhmi letters, engraved at different times in the varying degree of carefulness by different artists (masons and sculptors) of different localities, where the Brāhmi was or was not the prevalent script:—

$A = \text{卐}$. Two arms of different shape making an angle almost on the vertical. It stands near to Aśokan forms in Bühler's T. II. Kalsi (ii), Girnar (ix).

$A = \text{卐}$. A sharp angle upon a short horizontal. Compare Aśokan forms in Bühler's T. II. Kalsi (ii), Jaugada (vi), Girnar (viii), and Bhaṭṭiprolu, Bühler's T. II. (xiv).

$A = \text{卐}$. An angle on a short horizontal with two arms tending to be verticals. Compare Aśokan forms in Bühler's T. II. Kalsi (iii), Girnar, (x), and Bhaṭṭiprolu, Bühler's T. II. (xiii).

$\Lambda = \Uparrow$. Sharply turned lower arm and larger intervening space. Similar in some respects to the Aśokan form in Bühler's T. II. Siddapur (xii). Exactly like Gateway form.

$\Lambda = \Uparrow$. Coping 4th form with larger intervening space. Similar to Sanchi Rail forms, Chanda's Pl. III.

$\Lambda = \Uparrow$. Two high arms with a small intervening space.

$\Lambda = \Uparrow$. A rounded angle bisecting the vertical. Compare Aśokan forms in Bühler's T. II. Siddapur (xii), Sanchi Rail Inscriptions, Chanda's Pl. III. Nos. 2, 4, Mathurā and Hāthighumphā, Bühler's T. II. (xx, xxi).

$K = +$. A perfect plus-sign. See Coping form.

$K = +$. Two verticals meet in a curve.

$K = +$. Sword-shaped vertical. } Compare K in Besnagar Pl. and
Elongated lower part of } Sanchi Rail Inscriptions.
the vertical.

$G = \wedge$. Sharply angular. See Coping 1st form.

$G = \wedge$. Sharply angular with the elongated left arm.

$G = \wedge$. Slightly rounded top. See Coping 3rd form.

$G = \wedge$. Markedly rounded top. Exactly like Gateway form.

$Ch = \phi$. Circular curve bisected by a vertical. Similar to Aśokan forms in Bühler's T. II. Delhi (iv), Girnar (viii, ix). $C\%$ in Chanda's Pl. III. Nos. 5, 9, 11, 12, Pl. IV. No. 10.

$Ch = \phi$. Similar to Gateway form.

$Ch = \phi$. Butterfly with two loops, similar to the Aśokan form in Bühler's Pl. II. Kalsi (ii), and less prominent than Pabhosa $C\%$ Bühler's T. II. (xix), and Hāthigumphā, Bühler's T. II. (xxi).

$J = \zeta$. Similar to Coping 1st form.

$J = \Xi$. Two uniform curves meet in a horizontal. Similar to Coping 3rd form.

$J = \xi$. Two vertical crescents meet in a point. Compare Ghasundi J , Bühler's T. II. (xvi).

$J = \xi$. Two uniform curves meet in a narrow loop. Similar to Aśokan form in Bühler's T. II. Girnar (viii). Compare Sanchi Rail form, Chanda's Pl. III. No. 3.

$J\tilde{a} = \text{☞}$. Two uniform curves joined by an elongated horizontal. Similar to the Aśokan form, Bühler's T. II. Jaugada (vii). This is also met with on the Coping.

$J\tilde{a} = \text{☞}$. An ordinary J a vowel sign for \tilde{A} in the upper half. Compare Hāthigumphā, Bühler's T. II. (xxi). This occurs in two Coping inscriptions.

$J\tilde{a} = \text{☞}$. A three-curved J with a markedly elongated horizontal stroke in the lowermost curve. The form is unique.

$T = \text{⌒}$. This peculiar form occurs once in the Jetavana-scene Inscription.

$T = \text{⌒}$ ⌒ . These two inverted forms occur in the same Jetavana-Scene Inscription.

$T = \text{⌒}$. A sharp angle with the elongated left arm. Similar to Coping 2nd form.

$T = \text{⌒}$. A rounded top. Similar to Gateway form.

$D = \text{⌒}$. Similar to Coping and Gateway forms.

$D = \text{⌒}$. Two verticals joined by a rounded angle. Similar to the Aśokan form in Bühler's T. II. Girnar (x).

$D = \text{⌒}$. Two verticals joined by a small angle. Similar to Daśaratha form, Bühler's T. II. (xvii), and Pabhosa, Bühler's T. II. (xix).

$N = \text{⌒}$. The typical Brāhmī form in Barhut and all earlier Inscriptions.

$N = \text{⌒}$. Slightly bent top of the vertical. This exceptional form occurs twice in the same Jetavana-Scene Inscription along with the standard form.

$Bh = \text{⌒}$. Similar to Coping form.


$Bh = \text{⌒}$. Coping form with slightly longer lower part of the right vertical.


$Bh = \text{⌒}$. Markedly elongated lower part of the right vertical. Exactly like Gateway form.

$Y = \text{⌒}$ ⌒ . Similar to Coping 1st and 2nd forms.


$R = \text{⌒}$. Exactly like Coping form.


$R = \text{⌒}$. Sword-shaped. Similar to Gateway form.


Kr = . R-sign is cork-screw like or lightning-shaped. Exactly like Aśoka's *kr*, Bühler's T. II. Siddapur (xi).

Dr = . Another form of cork-screw-like R-sign.

S = . Similar to Coping 1st form.

S = . Like Coping 2nd form.

S = . Like Gateway form.

H = . See Coping and Gateway forms.

(3) CHRONOLOGICAL POSITION OF BARHUT INSCRIPTIONS

A. *Views of Paleographic Experts:—*

Cunningham.—“According to my judgment the absolute identity of the forms of the Bharhut characters with those of the Asoka period is proof sufficient that they belong to the same age. On this evidence I do not wish to fix upon any exact date, and I am content with recording my opinion that the alphabetical characters of the Bharhut inscriptions are certainly not later than B.C. 200.”¹

Bühler.—“The majority of the inscriptions on the Bharhut stûpa” belong to “the older Maurya alphabet of the Asoka edicts.”²

Senart.—“The ancient inscriptions of the Bharhut Stûpa are perhaps contemporary with Piyadasi, of a surety not much later.”³

Chanda.—“The Brāhmī inscriptions from the third century B. C. to the second century A.D. may be chronologically arranged in the following order:—

1. Edicts of Aśoka.
2. Nāgārjunī Hill cave inscriptions of Aśoka's grandson Daśaratha.
3. Besnagar Garuḍa pillar inscriptions.
4. (a) Inscriptions on the railings of Stûpa I at Sāñchi.
 (b) Inscriptions on the railings of Stûpa II at Sāñchi.
 (c) Bharhut railing inscriptions.
 (d) Inscriptions on the remnants of the old Bodh-Gayā railing.
5. (a) Besnagar Garuḍa pillar inscription of the year 12 after the inscription of *mahārāja* Bhāgavata.

1 Stûpa of Bharhut, p. 15.

2 Indian Paleography, 15, 2, Fleet's Translation in IA, p. 32.

3 Inscriptions of Piyadasi, Grierson's Translation, IA, 1892, p. 173.

(b) Inscriptions of Nāyanikā, widow of the Andhra king Sātakaṇi I in the Nānāghāt cave.

(c) Bharhut *torāṇa* (gateway) inscription.

6. Hāthigumphā inscription of Khāravela, king of Kaliṅga.
7. Sāñchi *torāṇa* inscriptions.
8. Inscriptions of the time of Śoḍāsa."

B. Chanda's Arguments on four Test-letters A, Bh, R, H.—

The angle formed by the two arms of *A* meeting at a point on the vertical line is the characteristic of almost all the *A*'s in Aśokan edicts, and *A*'s and *Ā*'s with the arms that do not meet but leave a little intervening space between them are exceptional. As *A*'s or *Ā*'s of these two descriptions occur side by side, neither type can be considered as a local variety, but the latter may be recognised as an irregular form of the former. In the inscriptions of Daśaratha the arms of all the *A*'s make a sharp angle on the vertical line. In the older Sāñchi Rail inscriptions *A* with space between the arms is the rule and *A* with an angle made by the arms is the exception.

Most of the Aśokan *Bh*'s consist of two lower verticals with a horizontal line above them extending a little beyond the top of the right vertical, and with an upper vertical attached to its right end. But here and there we meet with *Bh*'s of two other types, in which the right lower and upper vertical lines, meet and either make an angle or form one straight line. In the inscriptions of Daśaratha all three types are met with. In the *Bh*'s of the Besnagar PI of Heliodoros the verticals meet and make an angle. In the older Sāñchi Rail inscriptions the regular Aśokan *Bh*'s is practically absent, and almost all the *Bh*'s have one single long right vertical line.

R in the Aśoka edicts generally represents an ornamental cork-screw type, and an irregular type approaches a straight line. The *R*'s in the Besnagar PI of Heliodoros are cork-screw like. But in the older Sāñchi Rail inscriptions the *R* is represented by a straight vertical line, and the straight lined *R* is met with in all decidedly later Brāhmī inscriptions.

Two types of *H* are met with in the Aśoka edicts, often side by side. The more common type has the small horizontal line attached to the right shorter arm, a little below its top. In the second type this short horizontal line is attached to the top of the shorter arm. The second type

is also found exclusively in some of the pillar edicts, such as those at Radhia, Mathia, and Rampurva. In the inscriptions of Daśaratha all the *H*'s belong to the first type, while in the Sāñchi Rail and other decidedly post-Mauryan inscriptions the *H*'s represent the second type. So on, so forth.

C. Criticism.—The historical process behind the gradual transformation of Brāhmī letters is not so simple as may appear from Rai Bahadur R. P. Chanda's delineation. Certain forms became stereotyped at a particular period of time as an outcome of a very complex process, of the action and reaction of various factors. The shape of letters depends on the local style, the personal habit and temperament, the nature of the space and material, the position of the scribe, the nature of the tool, and the rest. And yet when we find that in none of the *Bh*'s occurring in two hundred inscriptions incised on different parts of the Barhut Railing the characteristic of Aśokan *Bh*'s with two right lower and upper verticals is present, and on the contrary, in all of them the *Bh*'s are of a type in which there is a single long right vertical with normal or prolonged lower part, we cannot but take it to indicate the peculiar development of an age, later than Aśokan, where the latter type of *Bh* is rarely met with. Similarly when in none of these inscriptions, and in none of the inscriptions which are decidedly post-Mauryan, the *H*'s with short horizontal attached a little below the end of the lower arm are met with, and on the contrary, in all of them the *H*'s are of a type met with in Aśoka's Pillar Inscriptions, we cannot but entertain the presumption that it is the characteristic of a post-Aśokan age. So far as Rai Bahadur's general statement of paleographic changes as a test of chronology is concerned, we have nothing to gainsay. But we find it really difficult to follow him when he, applying this test, comes to the conclusion that the Barhut Rail Inscriptions are later than the Besnagar Pillar Inscription of Heliodoros. In the epigraph of Heliodoros the *R* is of the cork-screw type, the *G* is angular, and the *Bh* represents one of the irregular Aśokan types in which two right verticals meet at a point to form an angle. Is this sufficient to prove that this epigraph is older than the whole of the Barhut and Sanchi Rail Inscriptions? If we closely examine all the letters in this epigraph, we cannot but have the impression that the general system, if there be any, is akin to that of the Inscriptions on the Barhut E. Gateway. In this epigraph the *A* has a markedly large intervening space between its two arms and represents a type which is absent in the whole of the Barhut

Coping Inscriptions, and rarely met with in one or two Inscriptions on the Rail-pillars and Rail-bars. This type of *A* can be traced in the Inscription of the Barhut E. Gateway. The *P*'s of the Barhut Gateway Inscription, like those of the epigraph of Heliodoros, are of the cork-screw type, though not so prominent as those in the latter. The *H*'s in both are equally sword-shaped with prolonged lower part of the vertical line. The *J*'s in the epigraph of Heliodoros are all looped, like the rare Aśokan form in Bühler's T. II. Kalsi (iii). This type of *J* is totally absent in the Barhut Inscriptions, and is met with in some of the Sanchi Rail Inscriptions, Chanda's Pl. III. No. 10. We are also unable to follow how Rai Bahadur, applying his test, can conclude that the Barhut Rail Inscriptions, are somewhat later than those at Sanchi. His analysis of the letter types in Barhut Inscriptions is far from perfect. As regards Aśokan *A*'s, the distinction between two types with an angle and with a space between the arms is too broad to be of any real historical value. The Votive Inscription on the Barhut E. Gateway was evidently incised by the artists whose script was not Brāhmī but Kharoṣṭhī. Such Inscriptions can also be traced on the remnants of other two Gateways, as well as on some of the Rail-bars, and presumably on some of the Pillar-panels, added in the time of king Dhanabhūti. In this body of inscriptions we meet with certain special forms which recur in Mathurā, Hāthigumphā and Sanchi Gateway. The Barhut Coping Inscriptions show many forms of *A*, *V*, and the rest bearing likeness to this or that Aśokan form. Among the large number of Rail-pillar and Rail-bar inscriptions we trace different varieties of each letter, some going back to Aśokan forms and some remaining on a par with Gateway letters. The stage beyond the Gateway type is that of characters with thickened tops, *mātrā*'s or *serifs*. The solitary *Ch* on the Gateway is not of the butter-fly type but represents an ellipse-like curve bisected by a vertical, and tends to form two loops. The butter-fly type with two loops and without *serifs* occurs in some five Rail-pillar inscriptions attached to two interconnected sculptures, and this yet conforms to the Aśokan form in Bühler's T. II. Kalsi (ii). The explanation is that these two scenes were engraved by the same body of sculptors. The ornamental Barhut Railing was the joint work of the architects and sculptors, who represented different local traditions and belonged to different ages. The earlier inscriptions appear to have been incised by different artists (masons and sculptors), whose script was Brāhmī. The datas are however sufficient to establish that the

Barhut system is not exactly Aśokan but post-Aśokan, and definitely Mauryan and Śuṅga.

ii. ON LANGUAGE.

(1) ORTHOGRAPHY.

Vowels.—a, ā, i, [I], u, ū, e, o, au. *Nasalised vowel.*—m.

Consonants.—k, kh, g, gh.—|| c, ch, j, jh, ñ. || ṭ, ṭh, ḍ, ḍh, ṇ. || t, th, d, dh, n. || p, ph, b, bh, m. || y, r, l, v.—|| s, h.—||

Conjunct Consonants.—kr, dr, nh, br, mh, hm.

(2) SANDHIS.

Citupāda = Cita + upāda (?) Naḍoda = Naḍa + uda (?) Nadutarā = Nada + utarā. Bhatudesaka = Bhata + udesaka. Mahādasena = Mahā + idasena. Samadaka = Sam + adaka. Sudhāvāsa = Sudha + āvāsa.

(3) PARADIGMS.

Masculine stems ending in a.—Ajakālako (N), Atanhatasa (G), Atimutasa (G), Anādhapediko (N), Apikinakasa (G), Abode (L), Arāmako (N), Avisanasa (G), Asavārikāsa (G), Isānasa (G), Upamṇa (N), Erāpato (N), Kammapto (N), Kakusadhasa (G), Kanakasa (G), Kanhilasa (G), Kāsapasa (G), Kumārasa (G), Koḍāyo (N), Konāgamenasa (G), Khujatidukiyasa (G), Gaṃgito (N), Gahuto, Gohuto (N), Guto (N), Gutasa (G), Gosālasa (G), Cakamo (N), Cakavāko (N), Cikulanīyasa (G), Culadhakasa (G), Culanasa (G), Janako (N), Tikoṭiko (N), Thabho (Ns), Thabhā (Npl), Thupadāsasa (G), Therākūṭiyasa (G), datasa, dinasa (G), Devasenasa (G), devasa (Gs), Devānaṃ (Gpl), Dāyakana, Dāyakūnaṃ (Gpl), Dhutasa (G), Naḍode (L), Navakamikasa (G), Nigamasa (G), Nigodho (N), Nekāyikasa (G), Paṃthakasa (G), Paṭhamo (N), Paṭhelakasa (G), Parirepo, Pārireyo (N), Pāṭaliputā (Abl), Pālitasa (G), Pāsāde (L), Pusasa, Pusakasa (G), Puṭṭeṇa, Pauṭṭeṇa (I), Putasa (G), Bodhicakasa (G), Brahmano (N), Bhānakasa (G), Bhutakasa (G), Bhogavaḍhanīyasa (G), Maharasa (G), Mahāmukhisa (G), Mahādasenasa (G), Maho (N), Mahilasa (G), Mānavako (N), Mitasa (G), Muḷasa (G), Mācīto (N), Yakho (N), Yakhilasa (G), Rakhitasa (G), Rupakārakasa (G), Vaḷuko, Veḷuko (N), Vasukasa (G), Vādhapālāsa (G),

Vijādhara (N), Saghilasa (G), Samikasa (G), Samakasa, Sāmakasa (G), Samthathena (I), Saṭupadānasa (G), Sigāla, Sigālā (Npl), Sirimasa (G), Sise (Apl), Sihasa (G), Suganaṃ (G), Suciloma (N), Sujāto (N), Sutaṃtikasa (G), Supāvaso (N), Suladhasa (G), Susupālo (N), Selapurakasa (G), Hathiko (N), Hathikasa (G).

Masculine stems ending in i [i, ī].—Atevāsino (G), Kaḍari (N), Kucimhā (Abl), Gahapatino (G), Girimhā (Abl), Girino (G), Dhana-bhūtina (I), Dhanabhūtisa (G), Peṭakino (G), Budhino (G), Vipasino (G), Vijapi (N).

Masculine stems ending in u [u, ū].—Jabū (Npl), Vasuno (G). Vesabhuno (G).

Masculine stem ending in Va (Vatup).—Bhagavato (G), Himavati (L).

Masculine stem ending in i (Vin).—Tapasi (N).

Masculine stem pitā.—Pituno (G).

Masculine stem rājā.—Rājā (N), Raño, Rājāno (G).

Feminine stems ending in ā.—Acharā (N), Anurādhāya (G), Ayamāya (G), Alambusā (N), Avāsikāya (G), Asitamasāya (G) Ujhikāye (G), Kumjarāya (G), Kokā (N), Koḷāya (G), Kosambeyekāya (G), Guhā (N), Golāya (G), Caṃdā (N), Cudaṭṭhikāya (G), datāye, datāya (G), Dabhinikāya (G), Devatā (N), devāya, devāyā (G), Nāgaye, Nāgāye, Nāgāya (G), Nāgarikaye, Nāgarikāya (G), Nadutarāya (G), Nāgasenūya (G), Nāgilāya (G), Parakaṭṭikāya (G), Purikāya, Purikayā, Purikāyā (G), Pusāya (G), Bodhikāya (G), Bhāriyāya (G), Bhojakaṭṭakāya (G), Bhutaye (G), Rakhitāyā (G), Sāmāya, Sonāya, Somāya (G), Sirimā (N), Sirimāya (G), Sivalā (N), Sudasanā (N), Sudhammā (N).

Feminine stems ending in i.—Ūkraṃti (N), Kākaṃdiyā (G, Abl), Koḍiyāniyā (G), Koladalakiyaya (G), Cātiyaṃ (L), Padumāvati (N), Pārikiniyā (G), Bodhi (G), Bhikhuniyā, Bhichuniyā (G), Misakosi (G), Yakhī, Yakhini (N), Yakhīyā (G), Vāsiṭṭhiyā (G), Venuvagāmiyāya (G), Vedisā, Vedisāto (Abl), Suci (N), Subhadā (N).

Feminine Stem Vadhu.—Vadhu (N).

Feminine Stem Mātā.—Mātu (G).

Neuter Stems ending in a.—Āthāya (D), Āsana[ṃ] (N), Katha[ṃ] (Ac), Kāritam (N), Cetaya, Cetiyaṃ (N), Jātaka, Jātakam (N), Jetavana[ṃ] (Ac), Tirami (L), Turam (N), Toranāṃ (G), Dāna, Dānam (N), Dharmacakam (N), Naḍode (L), Nigamasa (G), Pavate (L), Bhisabaraniya[ṃ] (N), Yavamaḥhakiyaṃ (N), Saṃmadam (N), Sahasani (Npl), Sāsani (L).

Pronominal neuter stem ya—yam (Ac).

Neuter Cardinal Stem ti—Tini (Npl).

Neuter Cardinal cha—cha (Npl).

(4) GENDERS.

Guto (M), Gutā (F). Dato (M), Datā (F). Devo (M), Devā, Devi (F). Devaputo (M), Devatā (F). Pālito (M), Pālītā (F). Pitā (M), Mātā (F). Puto (M), Dhītā (F). Pusa (M), Pusā (F). Bhadaṃpta, Aya, Bhadaṃpta. Aya, Bhikhu, Bhichu (M), Bhikhuni, Bhichuni (F). Mito (M), Mitā (F). Sāmi (M), Bhāriyā (F). Sirima (M), Sirimā (F).

Feminine—Acharā, Gulhā, Bodhi, Vadhu, Sabhā.

(5) VERBS.

Present Indicative—Anusāsati, Dadati, Deti, Dohati, Vamdate.

Aorist—A vayesi.

Present participle—marata (maramtā).

Past Participle.—Upaṃṇa, Kaṭa, Keto, Guta, Jāta, Data, Dina, Pālita, Bhuta, Muta, Mācita, Rakhita, Vokata, Saṃthata.

Causative.—Kārita.

(6) VOICE.

Active.—Dighatapasi sise anusāsati. Atanā marata. Dusito giri dada ti na. Jetavanam Anādhapeḍiko deti. Vaḷuko katha dohati. Ajātasatu Bhagavato vamdate.

Passive.—Silākammanṭo upaṃṇa. Dhanabhūtinā kāritam toraṇam. Koṭisaṃthatena keto. Vasuguto mācito Mahādevānam. Arahaguto devaputo vokato Bhagavato sāsani paṭisaṃdhi.

(7) COMPOUNDS.

Appositional.—Gahapati, Gāgīputa, Gotiputa, Jetavana, Jaṭila-sabhā, Devaputa, Devasabhā, Nāgarājā, Bhisaharana, Rupakāraka, and the rest.

Copulative.—Mātāpitā, Vitura-Punaka.

Adjectival.—Imdasālaguhā, Kosambakuṭi, Gaṃdhakuti, Citupādasila, Cuḍamaha, Culakokā, (ḥadaṃpta, Dhamacaka, Naṃdinagara, Mahākoka.

Substantive.—Tikoṭika, Timiṃgila, Vijādhara, and most of the personal names and epithets mentioned *passim*.

(8) SYNTAX.

Nominative used for Instrumental.—Arahaguto Devaputo vokato = Arahagutena Devaputena vokato.

Genitive Plural used for Instrumental Singular.—Vasuguto mācito Mahādevānaṃ, Mahādevānaṃ = Mahādevena.

Use of the Indeclinable ca.—Kāritaṃ toraṇāni, silākaṃmaṃto ca upaṃṇa.

Inversion of the order of words.—Thabho dānaṃ, Dānaṃ thabho. Suci dānaṃ, Dānaṃ Suci. Daḍanikamo cakamo, Cakamo Parirepo. Sumanāya Cudaṭṭhikāya, Cudaṭṭhikāya Kuṃjarāya. Caṃdā Yakhi (Yakhini), Yakhini Sudasanā. Dānaṃ Vasukasa bhāriyāya, Revatimita-bhāriyāya dānaṃ.

(9) PRINCIPAL SUFFIXES.

Ana (Anaṭ).—Sudasanā.

Ā, I, Ni, Ini (Ā, I, Nī, Int).—See examples of these feminine suffixes under Genders.

I (Kvip).—Pasenaji, Vipasi.

I (Nin).—Amtevāsi.

Ika (Ik).—Navakamika.

Ima (Iman).—Sirima, Sirimā.

Iya (Ṣṇya).—Isisimṇiya, Khujatidukiya, Cikulaniya, Cetaya, Chadaṃptiya, Therākūṭiya, Bhisaharaniya, Bhogavaḥhaniya, Maghādeviya, Mahāmukhi(ya), Mugapakaya, Yavamajhakiya.

Ila (Ilā).—Kanhila, Nāgila, Mahila, Yakhila, Saghila.

Ka (Ka, Kaṇ, Nak, Ak).—Ajakālaka, Culadhaka, Janaka, Jātaka, Dabhinikā, Dāyaka, Paṃthaka, Paḥelaka, Pusaka, Pahuhathika, Bodhikā, Bhatudesaka, Bhutaka, Bhojakatāka, Mānavaka, Yavamajhaka, Valaka, Vasuka, Viruḍaka, Samaka, Samika, Sāmaka, Selapuraka.

Ta (Kta).—Past Participle suffix. See examples under Verbs.

Ti (Kti).—Ūkraṃti, Dhanabhūti.

Na (Ṣṇa).—Selapura, Mānava, Vāsīṭhi.

Ni (Nīc).—Causative suffix. See the example under Verbs.

Nika (Ṣṇik).—Arāmaka, Asavārika, Nāgarikā, Paṃcanekāyika, Purika, Sutaṃtika.

Neya (Ṣṇeya).—Kosambeyā.

Ra (Da).—Kuṃjarā, Mahara.

Vā (Vatup).—Laṭuvā, Bhagavā, Himavā.

Vi (Vin).—Tapasi.

(10) PHONETIC CHANGES.

Short vowels lengthened in pronunciation or spelling before *m* and assimilated and conjunct consonants : Punarvsau = Punabbasu = Punāvasu.

Long vowels shortened in spelling before *m* and assimilated and conjunct consonants : Aprakīrṇa Appakiṇṇaka = Apīkinaka ; karmānta = kammanta = kammanta ; bhadrānta = bhaddanta, bhadanta = bhadanta ; Mahādevānāṃ = mahādevānāṃ = Mahādevānāṃ ; rājye = rajje = raje ; rājña = rañña = rañña. Exception—Kāśyapa = Kassapa = Kāsapa.

Long vowels shortened in compounds : Gotiputa, Bharanideva, Vāchi-puta, Revatimita. Exceptions—Gāgīputa, Mātāpitā.

i and *ū* generally dispensed with. Exceptions—ūkraṃti, Gāgī, jabū.

i and *e* interchangeable : kṛta = keta ; Kuvera, Kubera = Kupira ; girina = gerina ; Cikulana, Cekulana ; piṇḍika = peḍika ; Viśvabhū = Vessabhū = Vesabhu : siṇca = seṇca, secha ; sthavira = thera.

u and *o* interchangeable : Bodhikā = Budhika ; cittōtpāda or citrōt-pāda = cittuppāda = citupāda (?) Nandōttarā = Nanduttarā = Nadutarā.

ai represented by *e* : pañcanaikāyika = paṇcanekāyika ; Vaijayanta = Vejayaṃta ; Vaidiśa = Vidiśa = Vediśa ; Śailapura = Selapura.

au represented by *o* : Kauśāmbi = Kosambi. Exception—pautrena = pauṭṭeṇa.

e for *a* : Konāgamena = Koṇāgamana.

ā for *i* : devā, devi = devī ; Sivalā = Sivalī.

i for *a* : apikinaka = appakiṇṇaka = aprakīrṇaka.

i for *ai* : tikoṭika = traikoṭika.

u for *i* : susu = śiśu.

u for *au* : sutantika = suttantika = sautrāntika.

ū and *o* for *ava* : ūkraṃti = avakkanti, okkanti = avakrānti ; vokato = vyavakṛtaḥ.

o for *ayū* : mora = mayūra.

ṛ represented by *a* and *i* : kṛta = kaṭa, kata ; gṛhapati = gahapati, mṛga = miga ; ṛṣi = isi.

Clerical mistake of *a* for *o* : gahuta = gohuta.

Clerical mistake of *o* for *aṃ*, *i* and *e* : keto = kṛtaṃ ; bodho = bodhi ; Misakosi = Misakesi = Misakeśi.

i and e for ya : nigodha = nigrodha = nyagrodha ; mahāmukhi = mahāmukhya ; jeṭha = jyeṣṭha.

Instances of compensation : assavārikassa = asavārikāsa ; Bimbikā = Bībikā ; siñca = secha ; piṇḍika = peṇḍika ; Puṣyadattā = Pusadātā.

Instances of epenthesis : caitya = cetaṇḍa ; Dignāgā = Diganāgā ; bhāryā = bhāriyā ; śmaśāna = savaśāna = susāna.

k = kkh = kṣ : mugapaka = mūgapakkha = mūgapakka.

k = kk : Kukuṭa = kukkuṭa.

k = kk = kr : caka = cakka = cakra.

k = kv : katha = kvātha, kvatha (?).

k = kkh, kk = ṣkra : nikama = nikkhama, nikkama = niṣkrama.

kh = k : khuja = khujja = kubja.

kh = kkh = kṣ : yakha = yakkha = yakṣa ; rakhita = rakkhita = rakṣita.

g = gg = rg : Gāgī = Gaggī = Gārgī.

g = gg = lg : phagu = phaggu = phalgu.

g = gr : nigodha = nigrodha = nyagrodha.

gh, h = gh, kh, h = h : maghādeva, mahādeva = mahādeva.

c = kh = kṣ : cula = cūla, culla, khudda = kṣudra ; kuci = kukkhi = kukṣi.

ch = kkh = kṣ : bhichuni = bhikhuni = bhikṣuṇi.

ech = iñc : secha = siñca.

ch = ccha = ts : Vāchi = Vācchi = Vātsi.

ch = cch = ps : acharā = accharā = apsarā.

j = jj = jy : raje = rajje = rājye.

j = jj = bj : khuja = khujja = kubja.

jh = jjh = dhy : majhaka = majjhaka = madhyaka.

ñ = ññ = jñ : raña = rañña = rājña.

ṭ = t : kata = kata, kṛta, saṭu = satu = smṛtya ; seṭaka = setaka = śvetaka (?).

ṭh = tth = rth : aṭhāya = atthāya = arthāya.

ḍ = r : Naḍoda = Nārada.

ḍ = ḍh : Asaḍā = Aṣaḍhā ; Viruḍaka = Viruḷhaka = Viruḥhaka.

ḍh = ḍḍh = rdh : vaḍhana = vaḍḍhana = vardhana.

t = d, dh = d : Vitura = Vidura, Pāli Vidhūra = Vidūra.

t = tt = kt : Muta = Mutta = Mukta.

t = tt = tr : Mita = Mitta = Mitra.

t = tt = rt : Atanhata = Atanḥatta = Aṭṭhāṭṭa.

t = tt = pt : Guta = Gutta = Gupta.

th = th, tth = st, sth: thabha = stambha; therā, sthavira; bahuhathika = bahuhatthika = bahuhastika.

dd = dd = dr: Subhadā = Subhaddā = Subhadrā

dh = ddh: sudha = suddha = suddha.

dh = ddh = bdh: Suladha = Suladdha = Sulabdhā.

n = ṇ: Konāgamena = Konāgamana; Sonā = Śravaṇā; Exceptions -- toraṇa; paṭṭeṇa, puṭṭeṇa.

n = ṇṇ: Avisana = Avisaṇṇa = Avisaṇṇa.

n = ṇṇ = rṇ: Apikina = Appakiṇṇa = Aprakīrṇa; Punaka = Puṇṇaka = Pūrṇaka.

p = v = b: Kupira = Kuvera = Kubera.

p = ph = p. Pusa = Phussa = Puṣya.

p = pp, p = pr: pāsāda = pāsāda = prāsāda.

p = pp = lp: Vijapi = Vijappi = Vijalpī (?).

p = pp = rp: sapa = sappa = sarpa.

v = bb = rv: savata = sabbattha, sabbatta = sarvatra, sarvātma.

s = t: nisani = nissitāni = niśritāni.

s = ś: Isāna = Īsāna = Īśāna; keśi = keśī; satu = sattu = śatru; sāla = śāla; susu = susu = śīśu; sirisa = śīśa; susāna = susāna = śmaśāna.

s = ṣ: Alambusā = Alambusā = Alambuṣā; Avisana = Avisaṇṇa = Avisaṇṇa.

s = ss = śr: Misakosi = Missakesī = Miśrakesī.

s = s = śv: Setaka = Setaka = Śvetaka.

s = ss = sv: tapasi = tapassi = tapasvī.

h = h = s, ṣ: girimbā = girimbā, girismā; Atanhata = atañhata = Atrṣṇarta.

m replacing the nasals in conjunct or assimilated consonants: kammanṭa = Kammanṭa = Karmānta; dhamma = dhamma = dharma; peḍika (peṇḍika) = piṇḍika.

(11). CHARACTERISATION.

The orthography of the Votive Labels on the Gateways, particularly of the label on the E. Gateway, seems to differ in some essential points from that of the general body of inscriptions on the Railing. Two diametrically opposite tendencies can be noticed in the two orthographies. The former shows a predilection for the replacement of the dental nasal

(n) by the cerebral (ṇ), while the latter shows the predilection for replacement of the cerebral nasal by the dental. It is in the former orthography that we come across the use of the diphthong *au*, e.g., *pañṇa*. The predilection for the cerebral nasal argues a closer connection with the dialect of the Gateway Labels with the Jaina Prakrit, which, as is evident from a large body of inscriptions, held sway over the dialect or dialects of the Mathurā region. Barring the provincialisms, the language of the Barhut railing can be regarded as a Pāli dialect. The wordings of the Jātaka labels where the influence of the Pāli idiom is palpably strong, go however to show that the Scriptural source of the Barhut artists was not precisely the Pāli but a source of mixed character with the predominance of the Pāli elements. The Scriptural authority of the Barhut carvings was a Jātaka-selection including many legends all of which cannot be traced in the Pāli or any other particular tradition. It is on the whole an independent selection, including legends and episodes derived mainly from a source like the Pāli, while of the remaining legends and episodes, some can be traced only in the *Lalita-vistara*, some only in the *Divyāvadāna*, some only in the *Mahāvastu*, some only in the *Avadāna-Śataka*. The wordings of the Jātaka Labels bear some clear hints as to the mixed character of the Scriptural source. The Orthography, the Sandhi, the Declension, the Compounds, the Suffixes and the Phonetic Changes all combine to establish a close affinity to Pāli. But there are certain grammatical forms and phonetic variations which cannot be explained without a Mixed Sanskrit mediation. A few examples will suffice: *Bhāriyā* = P. *bhāriyā* = Sk. *bhāryā*; *Vipasino* = P. *Vipassissa* = Sk. *Vipaśyinaḥ*; *Vesabhuno* = P. *Vessabhussa* = Sk. *Viśvabhuvah*; *Pasenaji* = P. *Pasenadi* = Sk. *Prasenajit*. The Genitive singular forms *Sirimasa*, *Mahamukhisa*, and *Dhanabhūtisa* as well as the Feminine form *devā* are quite remarkable. These are apparently unwarranted by the Pāli or the Sanskrit idiom. The form *Mahāmukhisa* can be explained and justified only on the assumption that the final *i* of *mukhi* is equivalent to *ya*:—*Mahamukhisa* = *Mahāmukhyasa*. *Bhichuni* used as an alternative spelling of *bhikhuni* is rather curious. We cannot but welcome the suggestion of Dr. S. K. Chatterjee that there was probably a twofold pronunciation of *Bhikṣuṇī*, viz. *bhikkhuni* and *bhikhyuni*, prevalent in the central region of India, and that the Barhut *bhichuni* was based upon the second pronunciation, cf. Pāli *accha* = *ṛkṣa*; *ucchu* = *ikṣu*.

iii. ON NAMES AND EPITHETS.

(1). NAMES OF DONORS.

Bhikṣus—Apikinaka, Isidina, Isipālita, Kanaka, Kanhila, Gorakhita, Gula, Culadhaka, Jāta, Devasena, Nāṃda, Nāṃdagiri, Nāgadeva, Pāṃthaka, Punāvasu, Budharakhita, Bhutaka, Bhutarakhita, Mahara, Mahādeva, Mahila, Valaka, Samaka, Samika.

Bhikṣuṇīs.—Diganagā, Dhamarakhitā, Nāgadevā, Nāgā, Nāgilā, Pusadatā, Phagudevā, Budharakhitā, Budhikā, Bhutā, Sapagutā, Samanā (Sumanā), Sonā, Somā.

Donors other than Bhikṣus and Bhikṣuṇīs : (Men)—Atanhata, Atimuta, Avisana, Anāṃda, Isāna, Isidata, Isirakhita, Utaragidhika, Gagamita, Gosāla, Ghāṭīla, Culana, Jitamita, Jeṭṭhabhadra, Thupadāsa, Devarakhita, Dhanabhūti, Dhamaguta, Dhamarakhita, Dhuta, Nāṃdagiri, Pusa, Pusaka, Phagudeva, Budharakhita, Bodhi (Budhi), Bodhiguta, Bharanideva, Bhutarakhita, Mahāmukhi, Mahādasena, Mita, Muḍa, Yakhila, Yamita, Yasika, Revatimita, Valamita, Vasuka, Vādhapāla, Vijitaka, Velimita, Saghamita, Saṃghamita, Sagharakhita, Saghila, Satika, Samika, Sirima, Suladha, Seṭṭhaka.

(Women)—Anurādhā, Ayamā, Idadevā, Isirakhitā, Ujhikā, Kaculā, Kujarā, Koḍḍa, Koladalaki, Gorakhitā, Golā, Ghosā, Camdā, (?), Cāpadevā, Dhamarakhitā, Nadutarā, Nāgarakhitā, Nāgasenā, Pārikini, Pusadevā, Pusā, Mitadevā, Yakhi, Vāsīṭhi, Sakaṭadevā, Sakā, Samidatā, Sāmā, Sirimā, Seyā.

(2). OF PERSONS CONNECTED WITH KING DHANABHŪTI.

Kings and Princes—Visadeva, grandfather of king Dhanabhūti. Āgaraju, father of king Dhanabhūti.

Vādhapāla, son of king Dhanabhūti and donor of a rail-bar.

Queens—Gāgī, mother of king Visadeva and great grandmother of king Dhanabhūti.

Goti, mother of Āgaraju and grandmother of Dhanabhūti.

Vāchi, mother of Dhanabhūti.

Nāgarakhitā, wife of king Dhanabhūti(?) and female donor of a rail-bar.

(3). OF THE GOTRAS OF FEMALES IN VOTIVE LABELS.

Koḍina = Koṇḍañña = Kaṇḍiṇya (?)

Gaga = Gāga = Gārgya

Vacha = Vaccha = Vātsya.

Vāsiṭṭha = Vāsiṭṭha = Vāsiṭṭhya.

(4) OF THE RULING DYNASTY.

Suga = Suṃga = Suṅga (?).

(5) OF PERSONS IN THE JĀTAKA LABELS.

King—Ajātasata (Ajātasatu), Kaṇḍari, Pasenaji Kosalo, Maghādeva.

Queens—Ki[narā] (?), Sivalādevi.

Other personages.—Anādhapēḍika, Isisiṃga, Dighatapasi, Vaḷuka, Vasuguta, Vitura, Veḍuka, Sujāta, Susupāla.

Buddhas.—Vipasi, [Sikhi], Vesabhu, Kakusadha, Konāgamena, Kāsapa, Sākamuni.

(6) OF PERSONS OTHER THAN HUMAN BEINGS.

Devaputas (gods).—Arahaguta, Brahma.

Devatās (goddesses).—Culakokā, Mahākokā, Sirimā.

Lokapāla Yakṣas.—Kupira, [Dhataratṭha], Viruḍaka, [Virupakha].

Other Yakṣas.—Ajakālaka, Gaṃgita, Suciloma, Supāvāsa (Supāvāsa).

Yakṣiṇīs.—Caṃḍā, Sudasanā.

Nāgarājās (Dragon-chiefs).—Erapata (Erāpata), Cakavāka.

Acharās (Nymphs).—Alaṃbusā, Padumāvati, Misakosi (Misakesi), Subhadā.

(7) OF LOCALITIES OF DONORS.

Asitamasā, Karahakaṭṭa, Kākaṃḍi, Kosāmbi, Khujatiduka, Gula or Gola, Cikula, Cudaṭṭhili, Therākūṭa, Dabha, Naṃḍinagara. Nagara or Nagari, Nāsika, Paḷa or Paḷela, Parakaṭṭa, Pāṭaliputa, Bahadagojatira (?), Bībikānadikaṭṭa, Bodhicaka (?), Bhogavaḍhana, Bhojakaṭṭa, Moragiri, Vidisā, Venuvagāma, Saṭṭupadāna (?), Sirisapada, Seriyāputa, Selapura.

(8) OF PLACES CONNECTED WITH JĀTAKA-SCENES.

Imdasāla-Guhā, Kosala, Jetavana, Naḍḍa-Pavata Parirepa, Yavamajhaka, Himavata (?).

(9) OF BUDDHIST CANON AND ITS DIVISIONS.

Piṭaka (Peṭaka)=the Canon.

Sūtaṃ=Discourses as found in the Sūtra-Piṭaka.

Jātakam=the Birth-stories.

Pañcanikāya=the five Nikāyas.

(10) OF CLASSES OF DEITIES.

Sudhāvāsa-devatā=the deities of the Pure Abodes.

Savata-nisisāni=the all-pervading deities.

Kāmāvacara=the deities of the sensuous plane.

(11) OF PARTS OF THE BARHUT RAILING.

[unisa, unhisa, uṣṇiṣa=the coping.]

toraṇa=the arch of a gateway, the gateway.

thabha, thaṃbha=the pillar.

suci=the rail-bar.

silākamamta=the stone-work, artistic designs in stone.

(12) PERSONAL EPITHETS.

1. *Those derived from the names of localities :—*

Karahakaṭika=of Karahakaṭa.

Kosambeyakā=of Kosambi.

Kosalo (Kosalako)=of Kosala.

Khujatidukiya=of Khujatiduka.

Cikulaniya=of Cikula.

Cudatthilīkā=of Cudatthilī.

Therākūṭiya=of Therākūṭa.

Dabhinika=of Dabha.

Naṃdinagarika=of Naṃdinagara.

Nāsika=of Nāsika.

Paṇḍelaka=of Paṇḍa or Paṇḍela.

Parakaṭika=of Parakaṭa.

Bhogavahaniya=of Bhogavahana.

Bhujakaṭaka=of Bhujakaṭa.

Venuvagāmiya=of Venuvagāma.

Seriyāputa = of Siriputa.

Ṣelapuraka = of Ṣelapura.

2. *Epithets other than geographical :—*

(a) *Secular*—Asavārika = the trooper.

Arāmaka (Ārāmika) = the gardener.

Ko. āya = the fort-keeper (?)

Mahāmukhi = the great local headman.

Rupakāraka = the engraver or sculptor.

(b) *Epithets denoting secular functions connected with monasteries—*

Avāsikā (Āvāsikā) = the resident nun of a monastic abode.

Dāyaka = the supporter of a monastic establishment.

Navakamika = the superintendent of building operations.

Bhatudesaka = the distributor of food.

(c) *Epithets denoting scriptural learning—*

Pañcanekāyika = one who knows the five Nikāyas.

Peṭṭhaka = one who knows the Piṭaka or Piṭakas.

Bhānaka = the repeater of texts.

Sutamṭika = one who knows the Sūtras containing instructive discourses.

(d) *Monastic prefixes or titles of address—*

(i) *those of monks*—Aya = the Noble Master.

Bhadamta = the Most Gentle.

Bhadamta Aya = the Most Gentle Master.

(ii) *those of nuns*—Bhikkhuni, Bhichuni = the Nun.

(e) *Epithets suggestive of tenets and practices—*

Bodhicaka = the bearer of the wheel as symbol of Bodhi (?).

Saṭṭupadāna = one who practises mindfulness (?).

(f) *Epithets and titles of address applicable to Buddhas—*

Bhagavā = the Divine Master.

Mahādeva = the Supreme Deity, the god of the gods.

(g) *Titles of address of ruling princes—*

Adhirāja = the subordinate potentate.

Kumāra = the prince.

Rājā = the king.

(h) *Epithets used as personal names—*

Anādhapexika = the feeder of the poor.

Dighatapasi = the ascetic of long standing.

Sākamuni = the Śākyan sage of mystic experience.

(13) BÜHLER ON NAMES AT SANCHI AND BARHUT. ¹

“The names of various lay donors and, I may add, of a few monks furnish also some valuable information regarding the existence of the Pouranik worship during the third and second centuries B.C. A very large proportion of the names, *e.g.*, Araha, Arahaka, Arahadata, Arahadina, Arahadāsa, Arahadāsi, Arahatapālita, Arahaguta, Dhamadata, Dhamaguta, Dhamarakhita, Dhamapālita, Budhita, Budhapālita, Bodhi, Sagha, Saṃghila, Saghadinā, Saghadeva, Saghamita, and Saṃgharakhitā is decidedly Buddhist. Another considerable number of proper names, *e.g.*, Asāḷa, Mūlā (*i.e.*, Mūlā), Muladatā, Phaguna, Poṭhāka, Poṭhādeva, Rohini, (Rohini), Sātika, Svaticuta, has been derived from the names of Nakshatras and points to the conclusion that the rule of some Gṛihasūtras, which recommends the use of Nakshatranāmāni, was practically obeyed. The same inference may be drawn from almost all other collections of ancient inscriptions and from various ancient Brahmanical, Buddhist and Jaina works. There are further some names such as Agisimā (Agniśarmā), Agido(de)vā, Bahadata, (Brahmadatta), Mahida, Mita, Vesamanadatā, Visvadeva, Yamarakhita, which are closely connected with the ancient Vedic worship; and some Nāga, Nāgila, Nāgadata, and so forth bear witness for the existence of the snake-worship, which was common to the Brahmanists, and the heterodox sects. Finally the names Viuhukā, an abbreviation for Visnudattā, Visnurakkhitā, Upidadata, or Opedadata, (Upendradatta), Balaka, and Balamita (connected with one of the heroes of the legend of Krishna, Baladeva, or Balarāma, which is also called Bala) furnish evidence for the development of Vaishnavism, while Nadiguta (Nandigupta), Nandigiri, Sāmidata (Svāmi—, *i.e.*, Kumāradatta), Samika and Samikā (Svamika and Svāmikā); and Sivanadi (Sivanandi) do the same service to Saivism. It is also possible that Isadata and Himadata are likewise Saiva names. If the former has been correctly read, it corresponds to Sanskrit Isadatta. The other name can be connected with Himā, a name of Durgā. They may also be, however, derived from Hima, “The moon.” The occurrence among the Buddhists of names connected with the ancient Vedic religion,

¹ Epigraphia Indica, Vol. II, Sanchi Stūpa Inscriptions, pp. 95-96.

as well as of such as are connected with Saivism and Vaishnavism, in these early inscriptions, has no doubt to be explained by the assumptions that their bearers or their ancestors, adhered to these creeds before their conversion, and that they received their names in accordance with the established custom of their families. The rules regarding the giving of names were probably then as lax among the Buddhists as they are in the present day among the heterodox sects of India, which by no means restrict themselves to the lists of their particular saints or deities. Their historical value consists therein that they form a link in the chain of evidence which enables us to trace the existence, nay the prevalence, of Vaishnavism and Saivism, not only during the third century B.C., but during much earlier times, and to give a firm support to the view now held by a number of Orientalists, according to which Vaishnavism and Saivism are older than Buddhism and Jainism. By exactly the same method of analysis which has been here applied to the names on the Sānchi Stūpa, it is possible to extract from those occurring in the Canonical works of the Buddhists the proof that the Purāṇik religions flourished at the time when those works were composed. If, *e.g.*, we learn from the Bhikkhupācittiya, II, I, that the ox of a Brahmin in Takṣaśilā was called Nandivisālo "as big as Nandi," it is not doubtful that the animal had received its name in honour of Siva's Vehicle, and that Saivism was popular at the time when the Suttavibhaṅga was composed and probably earlier."

IV. ON LOCALITIES.¹

1. ASITAMASĀ.—According to Cunningham, the place was situated somewhere on the bank of the Tamasā or Tons river. The Vāmana-Purāṇa mentions Asinīla and Tāmasa among the countries of Western India. Asi may be = R̥ṣi.

2. IṆDASĀLA GUHĀ = Pāli Indasāla-Guhā, the Indrasāla-Cave. Indasāla Guhā is, according to Buddhaghosa, a Upanidhāpaññatti, *i.e.*, a name derived from an object standing at close proximity, say, from the Indrasāla tree marking the entrance of the cave. According to description in the Sakkapañha-Suttanta, the cave belonged to Mt. Vēdiyaka situated to the north of a Brahman-village called Āmraṣaṇḍa, the Mango-tract, and

¹ For some of the useful references we are much indebted to Mr. Kshirode Mohan Chakrabarty, M.A.

lying to the west of Rājagṛha, the capital of Magadha. Buddhaghosa says that the cave was situated between two hills or mountains, and that the Vēḍiyaka mountain was so called because it was surrounded on all sides by yellow-coloured grassy and flowery woodlands looking like so many mahivedikāḥ, all grown at its foot. Fa Hian and Hwen Thsang suggest a name for the cave in Chinese which corresponds to Sk. *Indraśailaguhā*-mountain (In-t'o-lo-shi-io-kia-ho-shan). *Indraśailaguhā* may be taken to mean 'the Cavern of Indra,' as Beal suggests, or 'the mountain-cave sacred to Indra.' Some such idea is also associated with the Pāli *Vēḍiyaka-pabbata*. According to Fa-Hian, the cave and the mountain were situated nine *yojanas* to the south-east of Pāṭliputra, and according to Hwen Thsang, it was situated 30 li or so to east of the town Kālapināka. Cunningham has identified the mountain referred to by the Chinese travellers with Giryek, which is the higher of the two lofty western peaks of the northern range of hills that stretch from the neighbourhood of Gayā to the bank of the Pāṇḍana river, a distance of about 36 miles (Arch. Survey, Vol. I, pp. 16-18 ; Vol. III, p. 150 ; Ancient Geography, Nundo Lal Dey's Geographical Dictionary *sub voce* *Indraśila*). The following description of the mountain by Hwen Thsang is here worth quoting : "The precipices and valleys of this mountain are dark and gloomy. Flowering trees grow thickly together like forests. The summit has two peaks, which rise up sharply and by themselves. On the south side of the western peak between the crags is a great stone-house, wide but not high. Here Tathāgata in old time was stopping when Śakra, king of Devas, wrote on the stone matters relating forty-two doubts which he had, and asked Buddha respecting them. Then Buddha explained the matters. The traces of these figures still exist. Persons now try to imitate by comparison these ancient holy figures. Those who enter the cave to worship are seized with a sort of religious trepidation. On the top of the mountain ridge are traces where the four former Buddhas sat and walked, still remaining. On the top of the eastern peak is a *Saṅghārāma* ;before the *Saṅghārāma*.....is a *stūpa* which is called Hansa (Keng-sha). Formerly the priests of this *Saṅghārāma* studied the doctrine of the Little Vehicle" [Beal's Records, II, pp. 180-1 ; Watters' Yuan Chwang, II, p. 173. Cf. Beal's Records, Introd., p. lviii.] One reads in the *Sakkapañha-Suttanta* : "At the time when the Blessed One entered, the *Indraśila*-cave which was uneven became even,

which was narrow became wide, which was dark became bright, as if by the superhuman powers of the gods."

"Tena kho pana samayena Indasālaguhā visamā yanti samā sampadi, sambādā yanti urundā (uruddhā) sampadi, andhakāra-guhāyaṃ devānubhāvena" (Dīgha., II, pp. 269-270). Buddhaghōṣa says that after having been surrounded with kuṇḍas, fitted with doors and windows, done up into a cave-dwelling with the finest chunam plaster and adorned with garland and creeper designs, the cavern was given to the Blessed One.

"Atha naṃ kuṇḍehi parikkhipitvā dvāravātapanāni yojetvā supariniṭṭhita-sudhākamma-mālākamma-latākamma-vicittam leṇaṃ katvā bhagavato adamsu" (Sumaṅgala-Vilāsini, Siamese Ed. II, p. 392).

3. KARAHAKATA.—This is identified by Hultzsch with Karhād in the Sattara District.

KĀKĀNDĪ.—*Kākandī* of the Jaina Paṭṭāvalī and of the Buddhist literature. The location of the place is unknown. *Kākandī* was originally the abode or residence of *Ṛṣi Kakandī* (*Kakandassa nivāso Kākandī*), that is to say, it was, like Sāvattthī and Kosambī, a city that sprang up round a hermitage (Sutta-Nipāta-Commentary, Paramattha-jotikā, II, p. 300). It was the birth-place of a Jaina Tirthaṅkara.

KOSAMBĪ. —Pāli *Kosambī*, Sk. *Kauśāmbī*. This was in the time of the Buddha, as also before his advent, the capital of the country of the *Vaṃsas* or *Vatsas*. According to the Pauranic tradition, the royal dynasty of the Vatsa country, to which King Udayana belonged, traced its descent from Puru and once held its royal seat in the Kuru kingdom with Hastināpura as its capital (Pargiter's Dynasties of the Kali Age, see *Pauravas*). *Kosambī* was, according to the Prologue of the 5th Book of the Sutta-Nipāta, one of the important stopping places of persons travelling along the great trade-route connecting Sāketa and Sāvattthī in the north with Patitṭhāna or Paithan on the bank of the Godāvarī in the south. *Kosambī* is identified by Cunningham with *Kosam* on the Jumna, about 30 miles south-west from Allahabad. The Barhut inscription above referred to mentions *Venuvagāma* as a suburb of *Kosambī*. Cunningham identifies *Venuvagāma* with the modern village *Ben-Purwa* to the north-east of *Kosam*. According to the Sutta-Nipāta-Commentary, *Kosambī* was originally the residence of *Ṛṣi Kusumba* (*Kusambassa nivāso*, Paramattha-jotikā,

II, p. 300). *Kosambi* was one of the most well-known centres of early Buddhism.

KHUJATINDUKA.—Sk. *Kubjatinduka*, Pāli *Khujjatinduka*. The location of the place is unknown. The Purāṇas mention *Kubjaka* and *Kubjāmrā* among the holy places of India.

GULA OR GOLA.—The location of the place is unknown. The Purāṇas mention *Golaṅgula* as a country in the Deccan.

CIKULA.—Sk. *Citkula*. The location of the place is unknown. One of the Nasik Cave Inscriptions, L. No. 1133, mentions *Cikhalapadra* as a village. *Cikula*, *Cekula* = *Cenla*, probably *Caul*, near Bombay, EI, II. p. 42.

CUDATHILI.—Sk. *Cundasthali* (?) The location of the place is unknown.

JETAVANA.—See *ante*, p. 60.

THERĀKUṬA.—Sk. *Sthavirakūṭa*. The location of the place is unknown.

DABHA.—Sk. *Darbha*. In the Brahmanḍa and a few other Purāṇas *Darva* or *Darbha* is mentioned as a country on the hills.

NAṂDINAGARA.—The location of the place is unknown. If it be the same as *Nandigrāma* of the Rāmāyaṇa, then it must be a town, such as *Nundgaon*, in Oudh.

NAGARA OR NAGARI.—The location of the place is unknown. Was it a town in Western India?

NAṢODA-PAVATA.—See note *ante*, pp. 98-99.

NĀSIKA.—*Nasikī* or *Naisika* of the Purāṇas and *Janasthāna* of the Rāmāyaṇa. According to the Brahmanḍa-Purāṇa, it was situated on the Narmadā. *Janasthāna*, as appears from the Ramayanic description, was within the reach of Pañcavaṭi on the Godāvarī. It then guarded the approach to South India and was carefully fortified. *Janasthāna* came to be known as *Nāsika*, as the foolish popular tradition would have us believe, from the circumstance that here Sūrpanakhā's nose was cut off by Lakṣmaṇa. *Nāsika* is modern *Nasik*, which is about 75 miles to the north-west of Bombay. During the reign of the Sātavāhana kings of Andhra, *Nāsika* was a stronghold of the Bhadrāyāṇīya school of the Buddhists (L. Nos. 1122-1149).

PAṢA.—The identification of the place cannot be settled beyond dispute. In the Barhut inscription we have a geographical patronymic *Paṣelake* which can be equated with Sk. *Pāṣḍeyya* or *Pāṣḍeyyaka*, a man

of *Pāṇḍya*. But *Paṇḍela* is evidently the ancient name of Paṇḍeria in Bilaspur District, Central Provinces.

PARAKAṬA—The location of the place is unknown.

PĀṬALIPUTA—Pāli *Pāṭaliputta* Sk. *Pāṭaliputra* or *Kusumapura*, *Pali-bhotra* of Megasthenes and of the Periplus. This was the ancient site of modern Patna and the last great capital of the kingdom of Magadha. This city was a mere village called *Pāṭaligāma* or *Pāṭaligrāma* in the time of the Buddha, and was situated on the south bank of the Ganges, just opposite Vaiśālī. King Ajātaśatru ordered his two Brahmin ministers Sunīdha and Varṣakāra to fortify the village of Pāṭaligrāma as a means of repelling the attacks from the Vṛjīs or Licchavis of Vaiśālī. This, indeed, marked the commencement of the building of the city of *Pāṭaliputra*, *Pāṭalipura* or *Pāṭaliputrapura*. The Buddha had seen the building work of the city during his last journey from Rājagṛha to Vaiśālī, and an account of this will be found in the Mahāparinibbāna-Suttanta and the Udāna. According to the Jaina and Pauranic accounts, the capital was transferred from Rājagṛha to Pāṭaliputra by Udāyi or Udayabhadra, who was, according to the Buddhist dynastic list, the son and successor of Ajātaśatru. There are some Buddhist Suttas which bear evidence to the fact that the building work of Pāṭaliputra was completed in the life-time of Ānanda who had survived the Master. There is reason to believe that the capital was again removed to Rājagṛha, while it was finally transferred to *Pāṭaliputra* by Kāṅkavarṇī Kālāśoka, about a century after Buddha's demise. *Pāṭaliputra* was the most prosperous capital of the Maurya Emperors. According to tradition King Aśoka had built there a big Buddhist monastery by the name of Kukkuṭārāma. Buddhaghōṣa says that *Pāṭaligāma* was so called because the village of this name was adorned with *Pāṭali* flowers. This can also explain the other name *Kusumapura* or the Flower-city. Hwen Thsang has recorded a curious local legend accounting for the origin of the name *Pāṭaliputra*. A certain Brahmin young man was made a bridegroom by his fellows and offered the twig of a Pāṭali tree as a bride. This circumstance gave rise to the name *Pāṭaliputra*, "the Son-in-law of *Pāṭali*." This fancy can never pass for sober history. The fact is that we do not know the exact meaning of the word *putra*. It was evidently a Sanskritised form of a Prakrit word *puta* or *putta*. One need not be surprised if the term *puta* was a phonetic variant of *puta*, meaning a merchant vessel, and was applied to a harbour or resting place of ships.

We have a few other names which can be similarly accounted for, to wit, *Kesaputta*, *Seriyāputa*, *Satīyaputa*, *Keralaputa*.

PURIKĀ—*Pulika* of the Mahābhārata; *Purikā* of the Khila-Harivaṃśa; *Paulika*, *Paurika* and *Saulika* of the Purāṇas. In the Purāṇas, this is included in the list of countries of the Deccan. In the Vāyu, the Brahma, the Brahmāṇḍa and the Agni, it is mentioned before *Danḍaka*, while in the Vāmana, it occurs after *Danḍaka*, and before *Sārika*. Was it, like *Aśmaka* and *Maulika* situated in the Goḷavārī region and included within the principalities of the Śātavāhana kings of Andhra? In the Khila-Harivaṃśa (Viṣṇuparva, XXXVIII, 20-22),¹ the city of *Purikā* is placed between two Vindhya ranges, near *Māhiṣmalī*, and on the bank of a river flowing from the *Rkṣavanta* mountain :—

Ubhaya Vindhayorpāte nagayoḥ tām mahāpurīm |

Madhye niveśayāmāśa śrīyā paramayā vṛtam ||

Purikāṃ nāma dharmātmanā purīm devapurīprabhāṃ |

Udyānaśatasambādḥṣṭāṃ samṛddhāpaṇacatvarām |

Rkṣavantaṃ samabhilastire lātra nirāmaye ||

PĀRILEYYA=Pāli *Pārileyyaka*, Sk. *Pāreruka*. This was the name of a woodland guarded by the elephant *Pārileyya*. Failing to settle the dispute among the Bhikṣus at *Kauśāmbī*, the Buddha came away to live in this woodland, and spent there one rainy season, being attended by the elephant *Pārileyyaka* and a monkey. The way to this woodland from *Kauśāmbī* lay through a village called *Bālakaḷaṇakārā*, the saltmakers' village.

BAHAḌAGOJATIRA—The location of the place is unknown. The name implies that the place was on the bank of a river crossed by bullocks, cows and goats.

BĪBIKĀNADIKATA—This, as its name implies, was a place in the region of the *Bimbikā* river. But a river or a country of this name has not as yet been traced in any known list of geographical names in the Epics or the Purāṇas.

BODHICAKA=Sk. *Bodhicakra*. It is doubtful if this was the name of a place, though a similar name *Ekacakra* is met with in the Pauranic lists of countries and places.

BHOĠAVADHANA=Sk. *Bhogavardhana*, the Wealth-increaser. The Purāṇas catalogue it as one of the countries in the Deccan. The Vāyu,

¹ For this reference we owe some debt to Dr. H. C. Raychandhuri.

the Brahma and the Brahmāṇḍa mention it after *Maulika* and *Aśmaka* or *Aśvaka*, while the Vāmana mentions it before *Aśmaka*. According to the Sutta-Nipāta, V. 977, and its Commentary, *Mulaka* (*Aḷaka*) and *Assaka* were two Andhra principalities situated near the forest region of the Godāvarī where Ṛṣi Śarabhaṅga and others lived. That these two were Andhra principalities is borne out by the Nasik cave inscriptions of the Śātavāhana kings of Andhra. It seems that *Bhogavardhana*, too, was situated in the Godāvarī region. The location of the place is however unknown.

BHOJAKATA=Sk. *Bhojakata* or *Bhojya*. The Sabhāparva of the Great Epic, Chap. 30, mentions *Bhojakata* and *Bhojakatapura* as two places in the south conquered by Sahadeva. If *Bhojakata* be the name as *Bhoja* or *Bhojya* of the Purāṇas, then it must be a country of the Vindhya region. The expression *Dāṇḍakyaabhoja* in the Brāhmaṇas may indicate that this *Bhojakata* was either included within or within the reach of *Dāṇḍaka*. It is clear from the Mahābhārata list that *Bhojakata* Illichpur was distinct from *Bhojakatapura* or *Bhojapura* the second capital of Vidarbha (modern Berar). In the Khila-Harivaṃśa (Viṣṇuparva, LX, 82), *Bhojakata* is expressly identified with *Vidarbha*:

“*Vidārbheṣu nirāsārthaṃ nirmame'nyat puram mahat,
Tat Bhojakataṃ ityeva bahūva bhuri riśrutam.*”

MORAGIRI=Sk. *Mayūragiri*. The location of the place is unknown. See note *ante*, p. 13.

YAVAMAJHAKA=Pāli *Yavamajjhaka*, Sk. *Yavamadhyaka*. The precise meaning of the name is not clear. In the Mahā-Ummagga-Jātaka, it occurs as a general name for four market towns distinguished as Eastern, Southern, Western and Northern according to their position near the eastern, the southern, the western or the northern gateway of the city of Mithilā, the capital of Videha. The Barhut label refers to the market town of the eastern gate which was the birth-place of Mahosadha or Mahauśadha, the Bodhisat, the son of the wealthy banker Sirivaḍḍhaka or Srivardhaka. “*Mithilāya pana catūsu dvāresu Pācīna-Yavamajjhako Dakkhina-Yavamajjhako Pacchima-Yavamajjhako Uttara-Yavamajjhako ti cattāro nigamā. Tesu Pācīna-Yavamajjhake Sirivaḍḍhako nāma setthi ahoṣi.*” [F. J. VI, pp. 330-331.] The inhabitants of *Pācīna-Yavamajjhaka* are described as a wise and intelligent people (*paṇḍitā*), while Mahosadha was the wisest of them. The stories illustrating Mahosadha's wonderful power of judgment clearly indicate the importance of the place. The *Kiṭṭāsāla*

(*Kṛiḍāśūla*) erected by the Bodhisat is said to have been an object of pride to all and a lasting monument of his fame.

VEDISA=Pāli *Vidīsā*, Sk. *Vaidīśa*. *Vedisa*, according to Cunningham, is the old name of *Besnagar*, a ruined city situated in the fork of the *Bes* or *Vedisa* river and the *Betwa* within 2 miles of *Bhilsa*. *Vaidīśa* was, according to the *Purāṇas*, situated on the bank of the *Vidīśā* river which took its rise from the *Pāripātra* mountain. The *Garuḍa Purāṇa* contains the following patriotic description of *Vaidīśa* :—

“Vaidīśaṁ nāma nagaraṁ sarvasampat sukhāvaham |

Nānājanapadakinām nānāratanasamākulam |

Nānāpuspavanākīrṇaṁ nānāpunyajanāvr̥tam ||”

Vidīsā came for the first time into prominence in Buddhism in connection with the viceroyalty of *Aśoka*. *Aśoka*, while he was a viceroy at *Ujjain*, married a *vaiśya* girl from *Vessanagara* or *Vaiśyanagara*, which was evidently the old name of *Besnagar*. Since the time of *Aśoka* it became a very important centre of Buddhism. The only other religion which vied with Buddhism in post-*Aśoka*n time was *Bhagavatism*.

VENUVAGĀMA=See under *Kosambi*.

SAṬṬUPADĀNA=It is doubtful if it was the name of any place. See note *ante*, p. 15.

SIRISAPADA=See note *ante*, p. 27.

SERİYĀPUTA=The location of the place is unknown. The *Serivāṇija-Jātaka* (F. No. 3) mentions a kingdom by the name of *Serī*. The city of *Andhapura* could be reached by the merchants from *Serī* by crossing the river *Tailavāha*. It seems that *Seriyāputa* was, like *Suppāraka* and *Bharukaccha*, an important port on the western coast of India.

SELAPURA=Sk. *Śailapura*. The location of the place is unknown.

HIMAVATA=Pāli *Himavanta*. The region denoted by this term is rather vague and indefinite. It denoted undoubtedly a region along the southern foot of the Himalayas. It excluded *Kuru*, *Pañcāla*, *Kapilavasthu*, *Pāvā*, *Kusinārā* and other places included within the Middle Country as described by the Buddhists. It must have represented a region covered by Nepal excluding the Terai, Sikkim and Bhutan. In post-*Aśoka*n times a local Buddhist school by the name of *Haimavata* arose as a seceder from *Sthaviravāda*.



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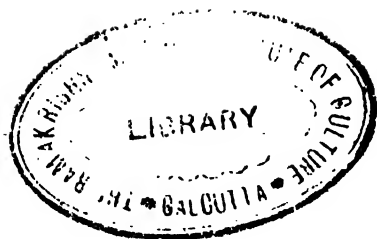
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